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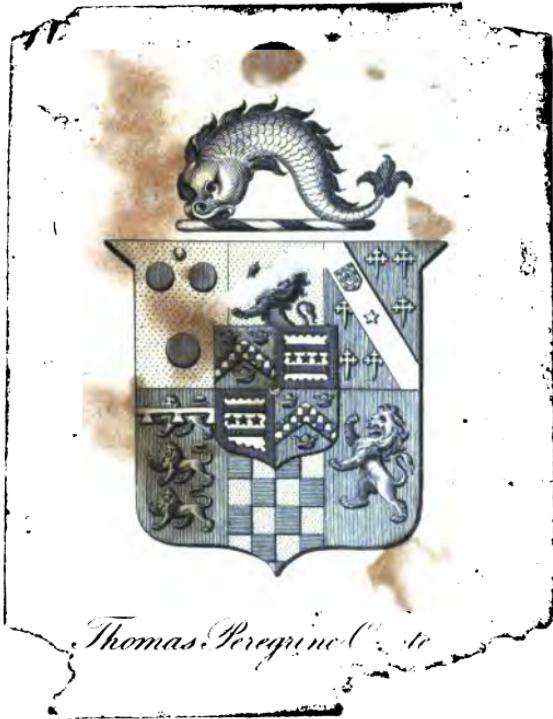
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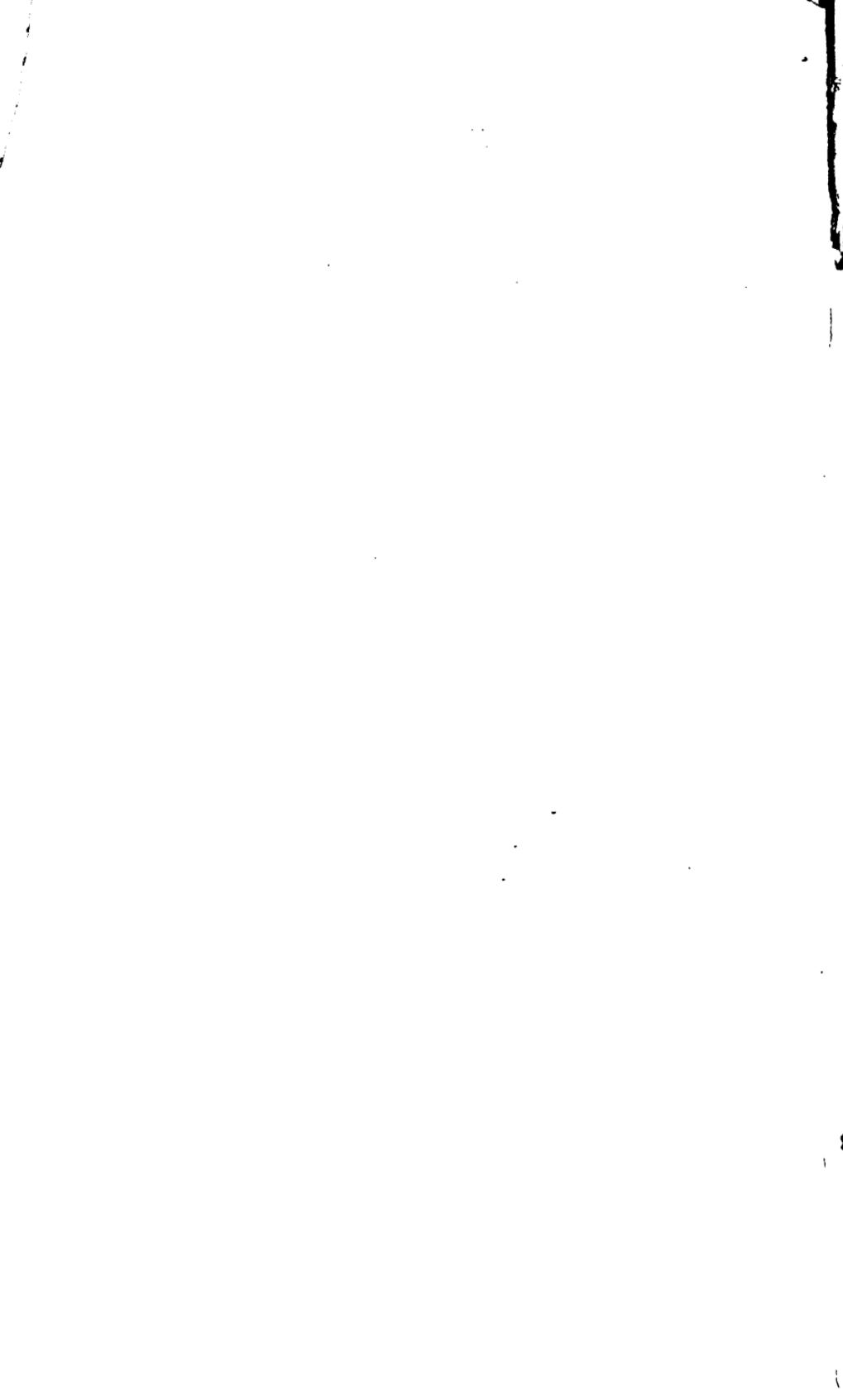


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Thomas Peregrine C. Esq.

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THE  
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O F  
M A N C H E S T E R.  
IN FOUR BOOKS.

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BY  
The Rev. Mr. WHITAKER.

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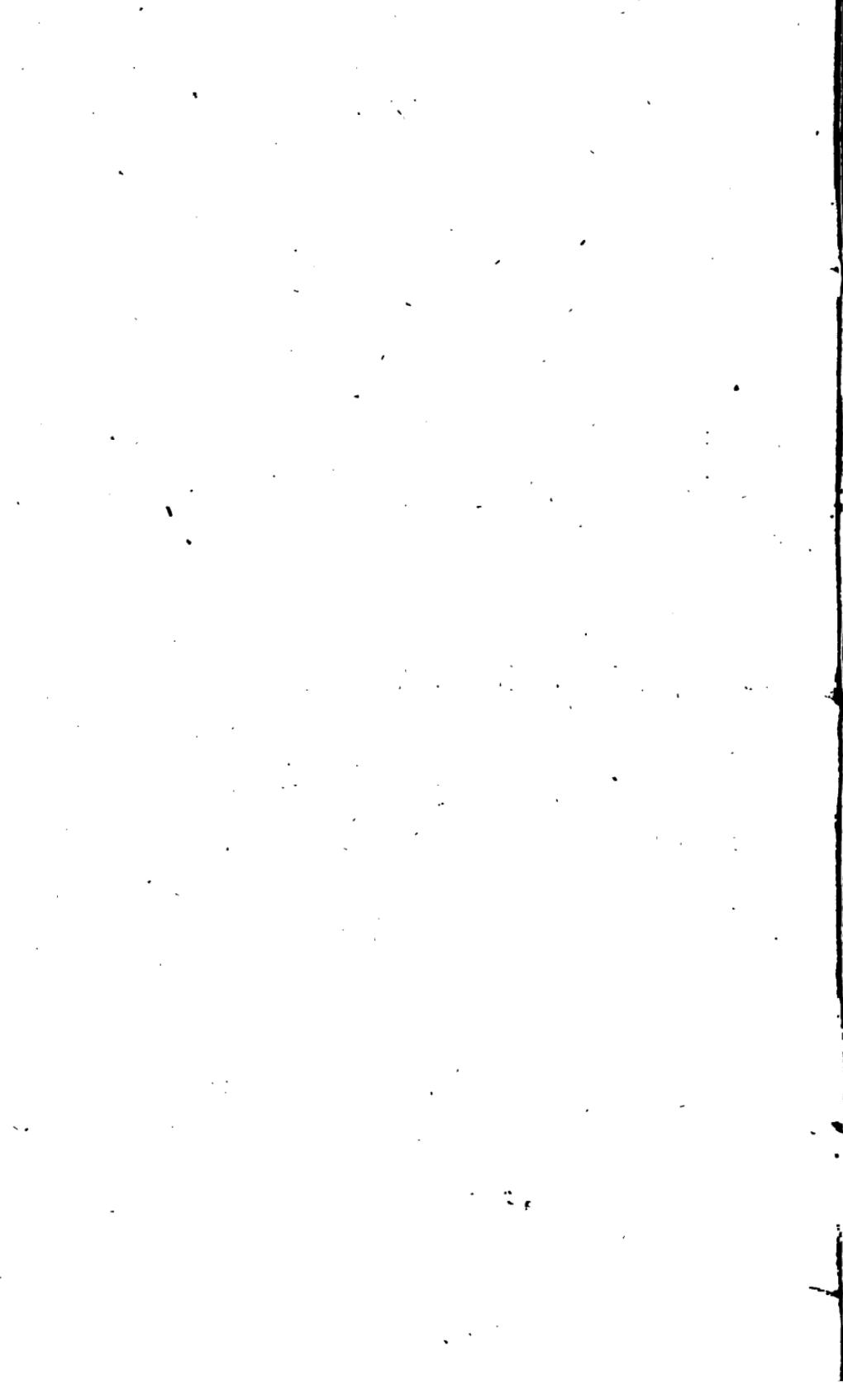
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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
MANCHESTER.  
VOLUME II.

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## C H A P. IX.

THE COINAGE OF THE BRITONS BEFORE AND AFTER  
THE COMING OF THE ROMANS—THE STATE OF  
THE MECHANICAL ARTS AMONG THEM—  
THE FURNITURE &c. OF THEIR HOUSES  
—THEIR PLANTS, FLOWERS, AND  
DOMESTICK ANIMALS.

### I.

THE whole commerce of the Belgick and interior Britons was carried on without the assistance of money, and in the course of a regular exchange. Such appears to have been the first trade of the island; that which the Phœnicians opened with the south-western extremities of it<sup>1</sup>. Such was also the much recenter traffick, which was prosecuted with so uncommon a vigour, and diffused to so great

Sect. I. great an extent, during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius<sup>2</sup>. And in the same manner therefore was the commerce conducted betwixt the Belgick and Aboriginal Britons. Hence neither of them possessed any minted money, at the period of Cæsar's descent on the island. And their attempts at a coinage had then risen no higher than to pieces of brass and iron bullion, unshaped, unstamped, and rated by the weight<sup>3</sup>. But, during the extended state of the trade in the reigns of Tiberius and Augustus, the advantages of a coinage would appear very considerable abroad, and the facility of engaging artists be a strong inducement to begin it at home. A mint-master was invited over from the continent. He brought all his implements with him; and a mint, the first that ever appeared in the island, was erected in the south. And Cunobeline, the successor of the famous Cassivelaun in the government of the Cassii, and now equally the sovereign of them and the Trinovantes, was the first monarch in Britain that coined money<sup>4</sup>.

Quarto,  
P. 285.

The first mint was pretty certainly up, one was actually erected, at his royal city of Camulodunum or Colchester. And about twenty pieces, the production of so many different coinages, have descended to us, bearing the appellation of the town upon them<sup>5</sup>. The instruments used in the work appear to have been the same, as continued among us nearly to the present period; the round piece of metal being stamped with the stroke of an hammer above, and at the same time receiving another impression from a die below<sup>6</sup>. And the metals were generally gold, silver, and brass<sup>7</sup>. Mines both

of

## Chap. IX. OF M A N C H E S T E R.

3

of silver and gold were worked in the island, during the reigns of Augustus and Trajan<sup>9</sup>. A gold mine was discovered a few years ago at Ampthill in the county of Bedford, and within the territories of Cunobeline<sup>10</sup>. And the British mint adopted at once all that variety of metals in its coins, to which the Romans were several ages in ascending. All the money of the Roman state was brass for nearly three hundred years together, the coinage in silver commencing only five before the first Punick war, and that of gold not succeeding till more than sixty afterwards<sup>11</sup>. And about fifty of Cunobeline's coins, impressed with his own name in part or in whole, have come down to the present age<sup>12</sup>. Some of them exhibit a plane surface, but most a small convexity<sup>13</sup>. And few carry a fine texture in their composition, the metals being too much debased with foreign mixtures<sup>14</sup>.

That the art of minting was thus introduced into the island from the Roman continent, is manifest from the inscriptions and faces of these coins. The devices are many of them Roman, januses, sphinxes, centaurs, pegasus, and laurel-wreaths. The letters upon them are all derived from the Roman alphabet. And, what supersedes all further argument, some of the inscriptions are even written in the Roman language<sup>15</sup>. And that the art was brought in by Cunobeline, we have every reason to suppose, as it was brought after the invasion of Cæsar, as Cunobeline lived in the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula<sup>16</sup>, and he is the earliest monarch of the Britons whose coins we have discovered. It was introduced before the death of

Sect. I. Cunobeline, and the surrender of Camulodunum to the Romans. The capital was taken in the autumn of 43; and the king was dead before<sup>15</sup>. And, had Cunobe-  
P. 286. line survived the subjection of his kingdom, he could not have retained the power of the mint; that liberty being taken away by the Romans, the right of coining being exercised only by themselves, and the money all inscribed with the names of the emperors<sup>16</sup>.

But the mint at Camulodunum was not the only one which Cunobeline erected. He set up two others in two other towns of his dominions, at Verulam and London. And we have four of the former mint, and six of the latter, that have been safely transmitted to us<sup>17</sup>. Caractacus, or (as he is more properly called by Richard, a British coin<sup>18</sup>, and the Triades) Charaticus, Caratacus, and Caradauc, so deservedly famous afterwards for his gallant opposition to the Roman army, and his more gallant behaviour to the victorious emperor, one of the sons of Cunobeline, and his successor in the sovereignty of the Cassii and Trinovantes, adopted the same scheme, and equally minted money. But in all probability he worked off only a few pieces, his kingdom being soon reduced by the Romans, and himself taking refuge with the Silures and Brigantes. And we have only four of his coins at present<sup>19</sup>.

But the art could not long remain confined within the precincts of the Cassii and Trinovantes. And many coins, which have been discovered in the island, evince that it did not. These carry no appearances upon them, that can induce us to attribute them to any but the primæval Britons. And they bear a remark-

able and striking similarity to the money of Cunobeline. See. I.  
 The wheel, the horse, the crescent, and the boar, so frequently the devices upon the latter, appear as frequently on the former<sup>19</sup>. Even the word *Tascia*, which occurs so often on the coins of Cunobeline, appears equally inscribed upon some of these<sup>20</sup>. And, as many of them have been found in the midst of British monuments<sup>21</sup>, so several even exhibit the British chariot upon them<sup>22</sup>. Being discovered within the island, and bearing in their appearances no relation to any other country, the suggestions of good-sense and the proprieties of reasoning would have obliged us to refer them to the British coinage. But discovered in the P. 287 country, carrying every appearance of relation to it in their aspect, found even among monuments indubitably British, and presenting even the indubitable symbols of a British mint, it would be a ridiculous squeamishness to hesitate about their original<sup>23</sup>.

The art of coining, thus introduced by Cunobeline and pursued by Caractacus, would first have travelled in all probability, whither it would most easily be carried, into the country of the Dobuni or Boduni, and the kingdom of Togodumnus, the son of the one and brother of the other<sup>24</sup>. But the Cassii, the masters of the Dobuni, appear to have minted for them. This is evident from a remarkable coin, which presents us with an head on one side and an horse on the other, and bears inscribed the name of the people, *BODO*, and the appellation of their and the Cassian metropolis, *CAM* or *Camulodunum*. And we have five others of the Dobunian coins, all, as we must presume from this, equally

Sect. I. minted at Colchester, and exhibiting upon them only the name of the nation or the denominations of their monarchs<sup>24</sup>. The art, therefore, was first taken from the Cassii probably by their immediate neighbours, the Iceni; and we have seven or eight of their coins at present<sup>25</sup>. And it was afterwards extended gradually through the island, being practised by the Atrebates, and at their capital Calleda, Calleva, or Wallingford; by Comus and Calle, the sovereigns of two other principalities; by the Segontiaci of Hampshire and Berkshire; by the Durotriges of Dorsetshire, and at their metropolis Durnum or Durnacum, the Durinum of Richard, the Durnovaria of Antoninus, and the present Dorchester, in the west; and at Eburo, Ebur-ac, or York, and Eisu, the Isu Brigantum of Antoninus, or Aldborough, in the north<sup>26</sup>.

Thus was the kingdom of Lancashire first provided with a regular coinage. But it was only a few years before the period of the Roman invasion. And the art had not opportunity to exert itself sufficiently in Lancashire, before the coming of the Romans superseded the necessity of it. At that period, therefore, the quantity of money within the county was probably insignificant; and none of it is known to have reached the present age, except the following pieces, may seem to carry the name of Mancenion upon them, and to prove the establishment of a British mint at Manchester as well as York<sup>27</sup>:

## Chap.IX. OF MANCHESTER.

Sect. L



But it must have been nearly the same in the metals, the design, and the execution, as the coins of the Britons in general and of the Brigantes in particular. And the metals of all were generally gold, silver, or brass, sometimes amber, and sometimes iron <sup>28</sup>. In some, the gold was even minted without any alloy. In most, the gold and silver were considerably debased <sup>29</sup>. The minting is frequently rude, the first efforts of the British coiners being as devoid of propriety as they were uninformed by experience. And it is as frequently graceful, the art naturally refining as it proceeded, and at last catching all the spirit and elegance of the coins of Cunobeline <sup>30</sup>.

But there is one particular in these monies of the Britons, which has now for two centuries puzzled all our criticks, and loudly calls for some probable explanation. And that is the word TASC, which appears inscribed

Sect. I. upon several of them, and especially upon those of Cunobeline. It was first interpreted by the great Camden, as Tasc signifies equally in Welsh, Irish, and old English, a tax or tribute; and to point out the original designation of the money, for the payment of the tribute imposed on the Britons by Cæsar. And this opinion has been almost universally received by our antiquarians since, and particularly vindicated of late with a profusion of learning by Dr. Pettingall<sup>30</sup>. But it is greatly erroneous, I think, and for these short reasons. As only some of the coins are inscribed with the letters TASC, this hypothesis accounts merely for a part of the whole, and leaves the rest to stand as the regular and current money of the island. And, had even these been intended for the discharge of the Roman tribute, they would have been principally found, not in the island where they were minted, but on the continent whither they were sent, and where, however, not one of them is known to have been discovered. And, what winds up the argument at once, a writer who was cotemporary with Cunobeline or a little before him, Strabo, repeatedly assures us, that in his time the Britons paid no tribute at all to the Romans<sup>31</sup>. TASC therefore cannot stand as the mark of a payment that was not discharged. And we must look out for some other interpretation of the letters.

The only others are the suppositions of Mr. Wise and Mr. Pegge. The former would refer the words, without argument and without authority, to a nation at the other extremity of Gaul that was called by a somewhat similar appellation<sup>32</sup>. And such an ungrounded and fantastical

## Chap. IX. OF MANCHESTER.

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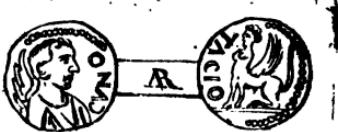
tafical hypothesis is not worthy a serious refutation. It falls from its own airiness of nature, and is directly contradicted by the fact that I have alledged before, the discovery of the coins in Britain only. But the latter has advanced a supposition much more rational and manly, that the word is the personal or national name of the Roman-Gallick mint-master whom Cunobeline invited into Britain<sup>33</sup>. And I adopted the opinion in my first edition. Tascaire in Celtick signifies a tributary or servant. It might easily, therefore, become an appropriate appellation. And the same principle, which stamped the figure of a minthmaster upon three of the coins, would as readily inscribe his name upon them or others. These reasons, and the want of a more probable hypothesis, induced me to follow Mr. Pegge in his opinion upon this subject. But I have since seen reason to change my sentiments. The word occurs too often on the coins, to be merely the name of a minter. His person is exhibited only upon three of them: but the name appears upon no less than twenty-two out of the thirty-nine in Mr. Pegge's tables. And it equally appears upon ten others in Dr. Stukeley's collection<sup>34</sup>. This is evidently too much for a mere mint-master, however honoured. And it even occurs in some forms that cannot agree with the idea of a coiner. Thus in Mr. Pegge's and Dr. Stukeley's plates we have TASC NO, TASC NOVA, TASC NOVANE, and TASC NOVANIT<sup>35</sup>. And in the latter we have TASC RICO<sup>36</sup>. Here the word is found associated with others that cannot with any propriety be applied to the minter. And some meaning must be sought, that will agree with the use of it both

as

Sect. I. as it stands singly by itself, and as it is found confederated with these. And such a meaning, I think, I have discovered.

The word is written differently TASC, TASCI, TASCE, TASCIE, TASCIO, and TASCIA<sup>37</sup>. And it is nothing more, I apprehend, than the British and official appellation of the king whose coins exhibit the inscription, and signifies only the Leader. Tus, Tuis, Tos, and Toshich mean the beginning or head of any thing in the Irish language at present<sup>38</sup>. And hence Tuis imports a nobleman, and Toshich the leader of an army; as Macintosh, the family name of a clan in the Highlands, and denominated Mac-in-toshich in the Erse, signifies the son of a general<sup>39</sup>. Thus Toshich became an honorary title among the highlanders of the middle ages<sup>40</sup>. And Tuiseach and Taoiseach are the Irish appellatives for a commander at this day. The latter I imagine to be the Tasc of the coins, as the Irish Gaoidhilge is the word Gathelic, and as Wallic is pronounced Welch. So we have Tasg-etius and Mori-Tasgus contemporary with Cæsar in Gaul, two personages whose ancestors had obtained the sovereignty of their respective states, and who were themselves raised to the throne of their fathers<sup>41</sup>. And, in this acceptation of the word, I believe, every thing will be found coincident and proper. There is a remarkable variation in writing the word, that has not been noticed by any of the criticks. It was particularly overlooked, with a strange equipoise of inattention, by Dr. Pettingall, who first engraved it from Mr. Duane's collection, and with one of whose opinions it directly agreed, and by his antagonist

gonist Mr. Pegge, who re-engraved it from Dr. Pettingall's table, and objected the want of such a witness to the Doctor <sup>Sect. I.</sup> <sup>42</sup>. And it strongly favours the whole of my notion. The word, that is written upon all the other coins TASC or TASCHIO, is inscribed upon this TACIO <sup>43</sup>.



Thus the Welsh Tuyfog, the same with the Scotch Toshich and the Irish Taoiseag, is sometimes altered even now into Dŷg, and was formerly changed into Tog, in the TOGU of one of these coins and the Togudumnus of Dio. And, as Dr. Pettingall has fully shewn, Tac or Tag signified a leader among the Britons, as in Taxi-magulus, Praef-Tac-us, and Carac-Tac-us <sup>44</sup>. Both these forms of the word, therefore, coincide exactly with my interpretation of it. And, Tascio answering to the Rex of the Latin inscriptions and the Togu of the British, Cunobeline Tascio, Cuno Tacio, and Cearatic Tascie, upon some coins, will be the same as Cunobelinus Rex and Cunob Rex upon others <sup>45</sup>. Thus Tasc is frequently the only inscription upon the coins, and is actually inscribed upon both sides of one of them <sup>46</sup>. Thus Tasc Novanit and Tasc Ver signify the King of Verulam and London, the two capitals of the Cassii and Trinovantes. And we have Cunobelinus Rex upon the face of one coin and Tasc on the reverse, and Tasc Rico or King Commandant upon another;

both

Sect. I. both inscriptions asserting only the monarchical authority of Cunobelin over his subject states".

In this view of the word TASCIA, I think, all the difficulties that have hitherto attended the subject are resolved and removed. We do not embrace the strange incongruous idea of a nation taught to coin money, merely for the sake of paying their tribute in it; remitting it in a coinage that was too inelegant and barbarous to circulate on the continent, and could only be melted down by their masters; making it merely for exportation into Italy, and yet frequently marking it with British terms that were unintelligible there; and sending it for the discharge of a tribute, that appears not to have been paid at the time. We do not take up the wild and fantastical hypothesis, that the pieces were not the coins of our islanders, when they are found only in the island; and that they were minted by a nation on the continent, when they actually bear the names of British sovereigns upon them. And we do not acquiesce with the notion of their being so frequently inscribed with the appellation of a minter, that has no existence but in the visions of conjecture; and of his arrogating to himself an equality with his king upon the coins, assuming the sovereignty of his states, and even parading with the express appellation of Monarch. We take the word in its obvious and natural signification. And we apply it, as we find it applied by the Celts of Gaul about the same period, and as it has been applied by those of Britain for ages. It is referred directly to the king, with whom it is immediately connected. And it is what one would naturally expect upon a British coin, a British appellative of royalty.

Such,

Such, then, was the coinage of the Britons before the coming of the Romans. On their arrival the mints of the island were stopped. But the Romans became coiners for the Britons. No less than eleven mints in all probability, and perhaps more, were established within the pale of their own government, two in the two *municipia*, nine in the nine colonies, and some in the legionary stations. And coins minted at Chester, London, and York, at Richborough, Colchester, Lincoln, Verulam, and Gloucester, and at Conovium perhaps, the stationary head-quarters of the tenth Antonian legion, have been safely transmitted to the present days <sup>48</sup>. Chester from one side, and York from the other, diffused their minted wealth over Lancashire. And the British chiefs in general appear to have had considerable riches among them. Thus Cæsar is said to have acquired a large booty in his two descents on the island <sup>49</sup>. Prasutagus, the king of the Iceni, died possessed of very great wealth <sup>50</sup>. And to a few states in the south, and within a few years after their first subjection, the philosophical Seneca lent more than four hundred and eighty thousand pounds of our money, upon good security and exorbitant interest <sup>51</sup>. The Roman coins that circulated in the island seem to have been generally wrought within it, as the number of mints suggests. And they were current in great plenty among the Britons, as the incredible quantities that have been discovered in the country very clearly demonstrate. They did not circulate merely among the soldiers and traders of the Romans. They were current among the British chiefs and British villains. And hence such

Sect. I. numbers of them have been formerly found, and are now frequently picked up, in every quarter of the island; and have particularly risen, and are daily rising, to light, from the site and vicinity of almost every stationary town in the kingdom<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo p. 265.—<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 306.—<sup>3</sup> Cæsar p. 88. See Pegge's Coins of Cunobeline p. 35. And the Romans used only pieces of unstamped brafs to the days of Servius, Tullius, Pliny lib. 33. c. 3.—<sup>4</sup> The tenour of the history in Dio p. 957—959 plainly shews Cunobeline to have been king of the Cassii as well as Trinovantes. On Plautius's invasion of the country of the former, in that part which was inhabited by their subjects the Dobuni, he was met by Caractacus and Togodumnus. Both were successively defeated. The one was killed, and the other retired. The Dobuni then submitted. And Plautius followed up his successes to Camulodunum the capital.—<sup>5</sup> Dio p. 959, Pegge's class 2, Dr. Stukeley's twenty-three plates of British coins, 1771, 6—6, 6—10, 8—4, 8—8, 9—4, 10—1, and Camden's 1—24.—<sup>6</sup> Pegge p. 69.—<sup>7</sup> Pegge's Plates.—<sup>8</sup> Strabo p. 305, and Agric. Vit. c. 12.—<sup>9</sup> Camden c. 340.—<sup>10</sup> Pliny lib. 33. c. 3.—<sup>11</sup> Pegge's and Stukeley's plates.—<sup>12</sup> Mr. Pegge p. 9.—<sup>13</sup> P. 42 to 49. And see Stukeley's plates 2—7, 13—1, a sphinx, 9—1, and 9—2, a centaur, &c. And to the Roman inscriptions in Mr. Pegge we may add 9—4 and 12—2 in Stukeley.—<sup>14</sup> Suetonius's Caligula c. 44.—<sup>15</sup> Dio p. 957, and Carte p. 101. vol. I.—<sup>16</sup> Gildas's Hist. c. 5.—<sup>17</sup> Pegge 4—1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, and 5—1. The new

new mint-town, as it seems in Mr. Pegge, 2—5, is Sect. I. produced only by a mistake in copying the inscription (see Camden 2—12), the name being only Camu in the original, which is Dr. Stukeley's 19—2.—Compare also Mr. Pegge 4—4 with Dr. Stukeley 14—8. And see Dr. Stukeley 4—2, 4—3, 4—10, and Mr. Pegge 4, and 6—1, for Verulam and London.—<sup>18</sup> Stukeley 12—2, 12—3, and 12—4, and Pegge 6—2.—<sup>19</sup> Camden's Coins, 1—8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 25, 26, 31, 32, 33, 2—8, 10, 31, and 32, and Borlase's Coins N° 5, 13—21, and 22.—<sup>20</sup> Pegge p. 21 and class 5, and Thoresby's Leeds p. 338. N° 10.—<sup>21</sup> Borlase's Cornwall p. 258 and 116.—<sup>22</sup> Borlase N° 22, and Camden 2—30.—

<sup>23</sup> How mistaken therefore are Messieurs Pegge and Wise! The former is willing to reject all but the coins of Cunobeline. And the latter is desirous to reject both.

—<sup>24</sup> Dio p. 957, Camden 1—8, Stukeley 11—9, 20—10, 18—2, 11—1, 11—2, and 11—6, and Pegge p. 59 for Beric.—<sup>25</sup> Stukeley 3—3, 15—6, 16—10, and 17—5, for Iceni or Cenomes; 11—7 for Praetagus probably; and 11—10 for Boadicia.—<sup>26</sup> Stukeley 3—1 for Atrebates, and Camden 1—26 for Caleda (Caleda or Calleva, as Cantrev and Cantred); Camden 1—10 for Comus, and 1—11 for Calle; Stukeley 12—10 and 13—2, for Segontiaci; Stukeley 3—2, and Camden 2—8, for Durotriges, and Camden 1—15 for Durnacum, and 2—10 for Durnum; Camden 1—31 for Eburacum, and col. cxii. for Isurium. As it was very inaccurate in Mr. Speed and Dr. Borlase to suppose Comus to be the king of the British Atrebates, when Cæsar plainly declares him to have

Sect. L have been the sovereign of the Gallick; so was it equally unwary in Mr. Pegge to conclude, that, because the Comus of Cæsar was a Gallick prince, therefore that of the coins could not be a British one. (p. 38).

The latter was a distinct person from the former. And from the addition of RE upon the coins he appears to have been a British king.—And see another great mistake in Mr. Pegge p. 21, who rejects all the coins of Prasutagus, Togodumnus, and Caractacus, because the British kings minted no monies under the Romans. The latter may be true, and the former not be false. These princes might coin money before the Romans

P. 290. subdued their kingdoms.—<sup>27</sup> Stukeley 3—9 and 3—8.

And Man, a place, in Man-cession, is written to this day, as in one of these coins, with a double N both in the Welsh and Irish.—<sup>28</sup> Pegge p. 84 and Thoresby's Leeds p. 337; Borlase p. 250 and Camden c. cxiv. Gibson.—<sup>29</sup> Camden 1—6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 25, 31, and others. Perhaps Orceti on Camden's coin, 1—15, is some town in Caledonia, of which we have never received the name; as in Dio we have a Caledonian Prince called Argetocoxus, literally king of Argeto or Orceti.—<sup>30</sup> Camden cix. Gibson, and Dr. Pettingall's Dissert. Quarto, 1763 p. 7.—<sup>31</sup> P. 306—307.—<sup>32</sup> Nummi Bodleiani, p. 226—227—<sup>33</sup> Pegge p. 54—55—<sup>34</sup> See 4—10, 5—5, 6—8, 7—2, 9—1, 9—6, 13—5, 15—9, 20—8, and 21—of Stukeley.—<sup>35</sup> Pegge 4—C, 4—5, 4—1, 4—2, and Stukeley 6—4, and 5—4.—<sup>36</sup> Stukeley 13—9.—<sup>37</sup> Pegge 3—5, and 4—1, and Stukeley 5—5, Tat Pegge 3—2 and 6—2, Tasce and Tascie; Stukeley 13—5, Tasci; Pegge 5—1, 6—1, and Stukeley

4—10, &c. Tascia; Pegge 3—1, &c., and Stukeley Sect. I.  
 7—2, &c. for Tascio.—<sup>38</sup> Crit. Diff. p. 184.—<sup>39</sup> Ibid.  
 p. 185—186.—<sup>40</sup> Ibid. p. 184.—<sup>41</sup> Cæsar p. 94 and  
 108.—<sup>42</sup> For Pegge see p. 22—23. And, what adds  
 to the strangeness, it hath also been a third time over-  
 looked by Dr. Henry in his History of Great Britain,  
 1771, vol. I. p. 406, who even recites the legend, and  
 gives it Tascio, though his bwn representation of the  
 coin exhibits it rightly TACIO.—<sup>43</sup> Pegge 3—7.  
<sup>44</sup> P. 1—2.—<sup>45</sup> Pegge 3—5, and Stukeley 14—7 and  
 9—4.—<sup>46</sup> Pegge class 5, and 5—5.—<sup>47</sup> Pegge 3—5,  
 and Stukeley 14—7 and 15—9.—<sup>48</sup> See Camden c. 671,  
 374, and 877 for London, Chester, and York; Stuke-  
 ley's Carausius vol. I. p. 66 &c. for Richborough,  
 p. 96 for Colchester; p. 276 and 277 for Lincoln,  
 p. 253 for Claudia or Gloucester, and pl. 12. N° 1. for  
 Verulam; and Gale's Antoninus p. 122, for Conovium.  
 —<sup>49</sup> Strabo, p. 306.—<sup>50</sup> Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 31.  
 —<sup>51</sup> Dio p. 1003;

<sup>52</sup> I am sorry to observe, that Mr. Pegge has fullied his very useful treatise on the coins of Cunobeline with a rude stricture on the late Dr. Stukeley. “I am sensible,” he says, “the Dr. has his admirers; but I must confess I am not one of the number, as *not being fond of wildness and enthusiasm upon any subject.*”—(P. 106). Let the wildnesses of Dr. Stukeley be all corrected. They ought to be. But let not his character be thus held up to the publick, as the mere fantastical enthusiast of antiquities. This justice, gratitude, and politenes equally concur to forbid. His strong intellect, his enterprizing spirit, and his extensive learning must ever be remembered with respect and reverence. And even

Sect II. his extravagances, great as they are, should be considered as the occasionally wild colouring of that ray of genius, which has not yet been too frequently the portion of our English antiquarians, and generally seduces the mind into extravagances while it raises it to excellences.

## II.

THE primæval Britons of Lancashire and the rest of the island, whatever history has asserted or antiquarianism believed of both, were not unacquainted with the mechanical arts in general. Of this their ability to construct the military chariots of their country is a sufficient indication in itself. And the ingenuity of contrivance and neatness of execution, in these carriages, proves them even to have been intimately conversant with some of the best principles of mechanicks. Their cars were admired by the Romans, adopted by individuals for their journeys, and introduced by the publick into their races<sup>1</sup>. And we have the picture of one of them sketched out by a British hand, and engraved upon a British P. 291. coin<sup>2</sup>. There we see the charioteer mounted on his carriage before us, a quiver of arrows peeping over his left shoulder, and a spear protruding from his left hand; his feet resting upon the pole or a foot-board annexed to it, and his body leaning over the horses in the act of accelerating their motion. And we have the description of another in Ossian, which is equally authentick, very similar in one or two particulars, and more circumstantial<sup>3</sup>. It is the car of a British monarch, bending behind,

hind, drawn by a pair of horses, and embossed with Sect. II. sparkling stones. Its beam is of the polished yew, its seat of the smoothest bone, and the sides of it are replenished with spears. And the bottom is the footstool of the chief, as bending forward he brandishes the spear.

The Britons also understood the art, and practised the labours, of the pottery. And many of their earthen vessels have descended to us, by the only way in which they could have descended, or have been ascertained to them if they had. They have been discovered in the sepulchers of the Britons on Salisbury plain, in Cornwall, and in Ireland \*. They were some of them rudely wrought, and others pretty neatly fashioned. They were generally ornamented with little moldings and circular channels about the brim. And all but one had been burned in a kiln or furnace. This would naturally be one of the earliest arts upon which the understanding exerted its faculties, when it first began to attend to a better provision for domestick occasions, and the more agreeable accommodation of domestick life. In all probability, therefore, it was imported into the island with the first colonists of the country. And the Britons gradually improved it afterwards, forming the perhaps shapeless vessel of their fathers in a regular mold, strengthening their unbaked clay by the heat of a stove, and even enlivening their plain workmanship with some little decorations. But the progress of the art here was very unequal to its refinements on the continent. Shells were the only drinking-vessels of the Britons, and are even used by the Highlanders at present.

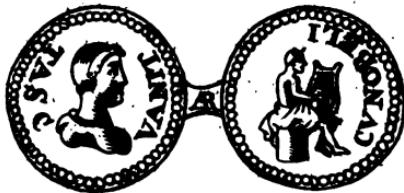
Sect. II. sent<sup>5</sup>. The Britons of the west, who had carried on  
P. 292. a long and close correspondence with the continent, and  
must have been acquainted, if any were, with the continental improvements in the art, were therefore fond  
of the foreign ware, and gave it a good vent in their country<sup>6</sup>. But the arrival of the Romans introduced  
all the refinements of Campania, and a pottery was naturally erected at every stationary town in the kingdom. And our own at Manchester, which was most probably settled within the projection of the river-bank in Castle-field, and on the south-western part of it, and might be supplied, I believe, with proper clays from many places in the parish, seems clearly from those specimens of its skill that I have mentioned in the former part of the work, and particularly from the coral-coloured urn at Worsley, to have been a very considerable one, and to have had excellent artists engaged in it. And here, under the direction of Roman or Roman-Frisian masters, the Mancunians learnt to model their vessels with a lathe, to give them a glazing, and embellish them with carvings and figures. Of these masters we know the appellations of four. The ADVOCISI of the Worsley urn is plainly the romanized name of a foreigner, and in all probability of some Frisian master-potter to the Frisian garrison. And, among many fragments of vessels that have been discovered in the ruins of the Roman slaughterhouse and cowstall in Castle-field, and on the opposite bank of the river and the site of Mr. Wallford's house, have some been found that were inscribed with the names of three others. One was the unglazed handle of a massy pitcher, and had VABEQ rudely

## Chap. IX. OF MANCHESTER.

rudely stamped upon it ; the name of an Italian potter See. II., in all probability, as we have Phoebio upon a vessel at Rome, and Vibia on a Roman tombstone in Britain<sup>7</sup>. Another was equally the handle of a pitcher, and equally large and unglazed, and had upon it the appellation NONOVI. And the third was a red stand for some little vessel, and on the bottom exhibited the letters OF A ASCUI, Officina Auli Ascui ; signifying the piece to have been formed in the pottery of one Aulus Ascus, plainly the name of a German, and the same with the Ayfcue of modern times.

Nor were the Britons uninstructed in the busines of the turner and employ of the carpenter. They were conversant with both, forming their shields either in circles or lozenges, tapering the shafts of their spears and arrows, and rounding the axles of their chariots<sup>8</sup>. Such a degree of mechanical knowledge could scarcely be unknown to any nation, and was absolutely necessary to a military one. And this would naturally lead them to the formation of many donestick utensils of wood. Of this sort most probably were the first household implements of man in general ; the block of the maple or beech being scooped into an unwieldy and unshapely vessel, the knife afterwards pruning off the excrescences and correcting the form, the lathe rounding it into neatness, and the graver carving it into elegance. And with these the Britons had trenshurs or wooden plates, wooden cadrs or chairs, and all the wooden furniture of the brewery. The chairs we see represented upon the coins of Cunobeline, a winged figure being placed with an helmet and trowfers in one

Sect. II. of them, and the king's minter in another<sup>9</sup>. And in this respect the Britons were more polished than the Gauls, the latter, even after the conquest of them by the Romans, sitting constantly upon the ground at their P. 293. entertainments, and having only a carpet of skins below them<sup>10</sup>. The British chairs were either tall and rounded blocks of wood, which our Mancunians to this day distinguish by the British appellation of Crickets, were provided with backs and mounted on four supporters, or rested upon a square basis of timber. And, as we have specimens of all the three delineated on the coins of Cunobeline, so we have a cricket, particularly, exhibited twice upon them, and in the very form which it bears in Manchester at present<sup>11</sup>.



The Romans probably very little improved either the wooden bowls, the plates, or the chairs, of the Britons.

Sect. II. All of them perhaps were banished to the houses of the inferious Mancourians. And among the inferiour have they all descended nearly to the present period, and continued nearly in their original construction.

The vitrification of sand by the force of fire, and the various application of the matter to domestick uses, form one of the most pleasing discoveries in the whole circle of domestick improvements. The discovery, however, resulted not probably from the inventive powers of the understanding. It was merely the consequence of chance. Such have been almost all the great discoveries of man, some incident soliciting his attention, and reason becoming the pupil of contingency. And such was that of glass in all probability, sand being vitrified by an accidental fire, and art imitating the work of casualty. Many accidents of this nature would necessarily happen in the earliest ages of the world, in the first efforts of the pottery, or on the first formation of bricks. And tradition, almost the only information that we can have concerning the commencement of the domestick arts, here concurs with probability, and asserts the first glass to have been actually produced by chance <sup>12</sup>. But the first glass-houses that history mentions were erected at the famous Tyre: and in Tyre was the only staple of the manufacture for many ages <sup>13</sup>. The sand of the shore, for the space of half a mile about the mouth of the Belus, was peculiarly adapted to the making of glass, being neat and glittering <sup>13</sup>. And the wide range of the Tyrian commerce gave a large vent to the productions of the furnace. But before the conquest of Lancashire glass-houses were erected in Italy,

Italy, Spain, Gaul <sup>14</sup>, and Britain. Hence in many Sect. II. parts of our island have been discovered annulets of this metal, having a narrow perforation and thick rim, denominated by the remaining Britons Gleineu Naidroedh or Glafs-adders, and, as the continuing superstitions concerning them shew, once used as talismans among the druids <sup>15</sup>. And in the barrows on Salisbury plain, which are older than the invasion of the Romans, beads of glass have been discovered in numbers. Many of them were single and pierced for the introduction of a string, and many were combined together in the making, and twisted round a small rod of the same metal <sup>16</sup>. Thus proficients as the Britons were in the art of forming beads and rings of glafs, no question can be made but that they applied it directly to domestick purposes, and formed with it many instruments. And history assures us that they did, and that they manufactured a considerable quantity of glass-vessels <sup>17</sup>. These, like their annulets, were probably green, blue, yellow, or black, and many of them curiously streaked with other colours <sup>18</sup>. And the process in the manufacture would be nearly the same among the Britons, as it was among the Spaniards and Gauls. The sand of their shores being reduced to a sufficient fineness by art, it was mingled with three-fourths of their nitre, which was a fixed salt, and both were melted together. The metal was then poured into other vessels, was left to harden into a mass, and afterwards replaced in the furnace. And it there became clear and transparent in the boiling, and was then figured by blowing or modelled by the lathe into all such vessels as were wanted <sup>19</sup>. Nor did the arrival of the p. 295.

Romans,

Sect. H. Romans, I apprehend, improve this curious manufacture of Britain, as their taste was just the reverse of ours, and preferred silver and gold to glass for the composition of their drinking-vessels<sup>20</sup>. They made indeed great improvements in their own at Rome, during the government of Nero. The vessels then formed of this metal rivalled the bowls of porcelain in their dearness, and equalled the cups of crystal in transparency<sup>21</sup>. But these were infinitely too costly for general use. They would therefore be never attempted in Britain. And the common glasses of the Romans and provincials were greatly inferior in goodness; and, from the fragments that have been discovered at the stations or towns of either, appear to have generally consisted of a thick, sometimes white, but mostly blue-green, metal<sup>22</sup>.

Native amber, very naturally supposed for ages to be a distillation from the gummy trees that formerly lined all the northern coast of Germany, and are said to remain in various places on the Baltick at present, appears upon a closer examination to be a fossil, generated in the earth, and disclosed by accident. And it is the production of our own island, as well as North-Germany. Formed in the fissures of the cliffs that line the eastern shore of Britain particularly, it is thrown down by the falling of the rocks, and picked up on the beach or found floating on the waters. It is sometimes gathered in large masses, not so bright and transparent as those of the Baltick, but of a pale yellow and agreeably clouded. And it is inclosed in a thin coarse coat, the nest or shell of this equivocal creation, the semblance of a gum and a gem in one<sup>23</sup>. And the Britons appear

appear to have possessed considerable quantities of it. Sect. II.  
This they molded into squares and circles, and their females strung them as beads and wore them as necklaces<sup>24</sup>. Nor was this peculiar to the wives and daughters of Britain. The Gallick women in the north of Italy did the same, as late as the æra of Agricola's expedition into Lancashire<sup>25</sup>. And the Scotch retained the custom within these two centuries<sup>25</sup>. The Britons also formed their amber into several vessels<sup>26</sup>. And in this state of their manufacture were they subdued by the Romans, and nearly in this they seem to have continued under them; the Romans only teaching them in P. 296. all probability a greater neatness in the figure of their beads, and a greater elegance in the shape of their vessels.

The first formation of bras, as we are assured by historical infallibility, was prior to the flood, and discovered even in the seventh generation from Adam<sup>27</sup>. But the use of it was not, as seems generally believed and the Arundelian marbles assert, previous to the knowledge of iron. They were both first known in the same generation, and first wrought by the same discoverer<sup>27</sup>. And the knowledge of them must have been equally carried over the world afterwards, with the spreading colonies of the Noachidæ. An acquaintance with one or the other was absolutely necessary to the existence of the colonists, the clearing away of the woods about their settlements, and the erection of houses for their habitation. And, as the nations in the east appear to have worked their mines of iron or copper in the remotest periods

Sect. II. periods of their history <sup>28</sup>, so the Britons in the west were particularly acquainted with both <sup>29</sup>.

Of all the metals, the most beneficial to man is iron. And the veins of it are therefore the most universally diffused. Providence has stored almost every region of the world, and particularly replenished the hills of Britain, with that useful ore. But our countrymen were long unapprized of their wealth. And it was late before any mines of iron were opened in the island. They appear to have been begun only a few years before the descent of Cæsar, and even then were carried on, not by the Britons, but the Belgæ <sup>30</sup>. To that period, both of them received from the continent all the iron that they had among them. And the quantity which was then collected in the island was very insignificant <sup>31</sup>. But, some mines being discovered, others would be immediately opened. And a considerable manufacture of iron was established in the kingdom, before the reign of Tiberius <sup>32</sup>. In this would many domestick utensils be formed by the Britons. Their iron money proves them to have possessed the secret of casting the metal and stamping it. And the manufacture appears to have extended into the farthest parts of the north <sup>33</sup>. But it was considerably enlarged, I apprehend, and the forges greatly multiplied, by the Romans. One perhaps was erected in the vicinity of every station. And in the western riding of Yorkshire and the neighbourhood of North-Brierley, amid many beds of cinders heaped up in the adjacent fields, a quantity of Roman coins was discovered some years ago in one of them <sup>34</sup>.

P. 297.

When

When the Britons imported all their iron from the continent, they imported also all their brasses. And, when they had ceased to introduce the former, they continued to receive the latter<sup>35</sup>. Their want of the metal remained, and no mines of it were opened in the island<sup>36</sup>. In the earliest ages whose manners have been delineated by history, we find the weapons of their warriours invariably framed of this factitious metal. And the most authentick of all the profane records of antiquity, the Arundelian marbles, for that reason mistakenly date the first discovery of iron a couple of centuries below the Trojan war<sup>37</sup>. Every military nation, as such, is naturally studious of brightness in its arms. And the Britons particularly gloried in the neatness of theirs<sup>38</sup>. For this reason, the nations of the world still fabricated their arms of brass, even long after the Arundelian æra for the discovery of iron<sup>39</sup>; and the Britons continued to import it from the continent, though they had found iron to be a native of the country, and could have supplied themselves with a sufficient quantity of it. And for this reason also the latter appear P. 298. to have reposed their brazen weapons in cloth, and even provided them with regular cases<sup>40</sup>.

When the Britons derived their iron and brass from the continent, they purchased the latter, I suppose, at an easier expence than the former. The Gauls had many large brass-works carried on in the kingdom, but seem to have had few iron-forges within it<sup>41</sup>. And this would naturally induce the Belgæ to be less diligent in their enquiry after the veins of copper and calamine at home, than for the courses of iron ore; though the one was

Sect. II. was equally discoverable in the island as the other, and lay equally within the Belgick regions of it. Brass being thus cheaper to the Britons than iron, they necessarily formed with it some domestick as well as military implements. Such were common among the Gauls<sup>42</sup>. And such were familiar to the Britons, either imported into the island, as some actually were, or manufactured within it, as others assuredly were<sup>43</sup>. The Britons had certainly brass-founderies erected among them, and minted money and fabricated weapons of brass.

In this condition of the works, the Romans entered the island. And, seeing so great a demand among the natives for this article, they would speedily instruct them to discover the materials of it among themselves. This must unavoidably have resulted from the conquest of the Romans. The power of surprizing their new subjects with so unexpected a discovery, would naturally stimulate the pride of the Roman intellect. And the desire of obliging themselves with so cheap a supply of that useful metal, stationary as they were in the kingdom, would equally actuate the selfishness of the Roman heart. The veins of copper and calamine would be easily found out by an experienced enquirer after them; and the former metal is therefore distinguished among the Welsh, only by the Roman appellation of Cyprium, Koppr, or Copper. And many foundries of brass appear to have been established in the island.

P. 299. Some had been erected before, one perhaps within the confines of every kingdom, and probably in the vicinity of every capital. One at least would be necessary, in order

order to supply the armoury of the principality. And Sect. II. one perhaps was sufficient for most of the British states. But several appear now to have been settled in every kingdom, and one perhaps near every stationary town. Two have been discovered in the single county of Essex, and within a narrow portion of it, at Fifield and Danbury <sup>44</sup>. And a third was placed upon Easterley Moor in Yorkshire, twelve miles to the north-west of York, and in the neighbourhood of Isurium or Aldborough <sup>45</sup>.

A brass kettle or skillet, the workmanship in all probability of a British or Roman-British foundry in the neighbourhood of Manchester, was some years ago discovered in one of our messes, and is now lodged in our library. It is about five inches and a half in diameter and two and a half in depth, and fitted with a flat handle of brass. And the metal of it, like that of the British coins and battle-axes, is mixed with a quantity of lead. Some was requisite to make the brass sufficiently obedient to the tool. And the proportion of the temperature was the same in Italy and Gaul, being eight pounds of lead to an hundred of brass <sup>46</sup>. But the paleness of the metal in the axes, coins, and skillet shews the proportion in Britain to have been very different. And the lead of all is nearly perhaps one full third of the whole composition <sup>47</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> Cicero's Fam. Epist. lib. vii. E. 7, and Sidonius Apollinaris (Sirmondus) carmen 23 and lin. 306 and 351.—<sup>45</sup> Borlase's Coins N° 22, and Camden 2—30.—

<sup>46</sup> Offian

Sect. II. <sup>3</sup> Offian vol. I. p. 11.—<sup>4</sup> Stukeley's Stonehenge p. 44  
 and plate, Borlase p. 233 and plate 18, and Wright's Louthiana b. iii. plate 2.—<sup>5</sup> B. I. ch. vii. s. 2, and Birt's Letters on the Highlanders, v. II. p. 43, but more P. 300. particularly Offian v. I. p. 27. a note.—<sup>6</sup> Strabo p. 265.  
 —<sup>7</sup> Pliny lib. xxxv. c. 12, vel quæ rotâ fiunt, and the bowl mentioned before in b. I. ch. ii. s. 3. See Montfaucon's Ital. Diary p. 99, and Horsley p. 328.—The glazed earthen rings of Camden c. 815 are therefore Roman-British.—<sup>8</sup> Pegge's Coins class 4—C, 5—4, and 6—2.—<sup>9</sup> Class 2—3. and 3—1 and 6.—<sup>10</sup> Diodorus p. 351.—<sup>11</sup> Pegge 3—9, 3—1, 2—3, 4—1, and 4—3. And Cricket is Krig-et, a little elevation, in British.—<sup>12</sup> Pliny lib. xxxvi. c. 26.—<sup>13</sup> Ibid.—<sup>14</sup> Ibid.—<sup>15</sup> Camden c. 815.—<sup>16</sup> Stukeley's Abury p. 26 and 43 and 45, and Stonehenge p. 45 and plate 32 and 4.  
 —<sup>17</sup> Strabo p. 307, *ναλα σκανη*. These and the accompanying words have been applied by some to mean, not what were made by the Britons, but imported into Britain. But the nature of the other particulars, mentioned by Strabo, is a sufficient proof to the contrary. They are such, I think, as could be manufactured only by the Britons.—<sup>18</sup> Stonehenge p. 45, and Camden c. 815.  
 —<sup>19</sup> Pliny lib. xxxvi. c. 26. For the nitre of the antients being a fixed salt, see Hill's History of Fossils, p. 387.  
 —<sup>20</sup> Pliny ibid.—<sup>21</sup> Ibid.—<sup>22</sup> Of Roman glass-ware, says Thoresby in Leeds p. 560, I have from London, Aldborough, and Adel: the bluish green, and some of the white, are very thick, above three-fourths of an inch; but a piece of the white, found five or six yards deep in the Roman wall at Aldborough, is remarkably thin

thin for those ages. —<sup>23</sup> See Pliny lib. xxxvii. c. 2. Sect. II.  
 and Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 45, Diodorus p. 348,  
 Camden p. 350 and 713, Dale's Harwich p. 112 and  
 275, Pennant's Tour in Scotland p. 13, Boetius Scot.  
 Reg. Descr. fol. 10, 1575; Paris; and Leflæi Hist. 1675.  
 p. 29. —<sup>24</sup> Diodorus ibid. and Strabo p. 307, Abury p.  
 44, and Stonehenge p. 45 and plate 32. —<sup>25</sup> Pliny lib.  
 xxxvii. c. 3. and Leflæi Hist. p. 29. —<sup>26</sup> Strabo p. 307.  
 —<sup>27</sup> Genesis ch. iv. —<sup>28</sup> Deuteronomy ch. viii. See also  
 ch. iii. —<sup>29</sup> Cæsar p. 88. — How mistaken therefore are  
 Montfaucon, Borlase; and all the antiquarians, in trust-  
 ing to the Arundelian marbles for the æra of the first  
 formation of brass, grossly overlooking the positive ac-  
 counts of inspiration! —<sup>30</sup> Cæsar p. 88. —<sup>31</sup> Cæsar ibid.  
 —<sup>32</sup> Strabo p. 305. —<sup>33</sup> Offan vol. I. p. 14, 55, and  
 62. —<sup>34</sup> Dr. Richardson's Letter in Leland vol. IX. —  
<sup>35</sup> Cæsar p. 88. —<sup>36</sup> Strabo p. 305. —<sup>37</sup> Arundelian  
 Marbles in Prideaux p. 163 &c. —<sup>38</sup> Solinus c. 22. —  
<sup>39</sup> Borlase b. iii. ch. xiii. —<sup>40</sup> Ibid. —<sup>41</sup> Pliny lib. xxxiv.  
 c. 8 and 14 for the brass-works. And the only hint  
 that I know of concerning any iron-works in Gaul, is  
 that curious notice of Cæsar concerning the Bituriges;  
 apud eos magnæ sunt ferrariæ, atque omne genitū cuni-  
 ēulorum notum atque usitatuum est, p. 145. —<sup>42</sup> Strabo  
 p. 265 and Diodorus p. 35. —<sup>43</sup> Cæsar p. 59 and  
 Strabo p. 265. —<sup>44</sup> Borlase b. iii. c. 13. —<sup>45</sup> Ibid. —  
<sup>46</sup> Pliny lib. xxxiv. c. 8. —<sup>47</sup> Leland vol. IX. See his  
 Cur. p. 55 for this kettle.

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## III.

IN this state of our island manufactures, when the hills of Britain were found to be replenished, as they are expressly declared to have been in the third century, with a rich variety of all sorts of metals<sup>1</sup>; the inhabitants of Manchester and the rest of the county slept upon skins of beasts, and lay on the floor of their apartments<sup>2</sup>. This was the practice universally in the first ages, and originally the custom of the Greeks and Romans<sup>3</sup>. But the skins were afterwards changed for loose rushes and heather, as the Welsh a few ages ago lay on the former, and the Highlanders sleep on the latter to the present moment<sup>4</sup>. And the example of the Romans now suggested to the Mancunians the use, and the introduction of agriculture supplied them with the means, of the neater convenience of straw-beds. For many ages the beds of the Italians were constantly composed of straw, and it still formed those of the soldiers and officers at the conquest of Lancashire<sup>5</sup>. And from both our countrymen learnt the use of them at this period. But it appears to have been taken up only by the gentlemen; as the common Welsh had their beds thinly stuffed with rushes, as late as the conclusion of the twelfth century<sup>6</sup>. And with the gentlemen it continued many ages afterwards. Straw was used even in the royal chambers of England, as late as the close of the thirteenth<sup>7</sup>. Most of our Mancunian peasants lie on chaff at present. And straw-beds re-

main to this day general in France and Italy. But they Sect. III. were no longer suffered to rest upon the ground. The better mode that had antiently prevailed in the east, and long before been introduced into Italy, was adopted in Britain. And they were now mounted on pedestals<sup>6</sup>. This, however, was equally confined to the gentlemen. The bed still continued on the floor among the common people. And the gross custom, that had prevailed from the beginning, was retained by the lower Britons to the last; and these ground-beds were laid along the walls of their houses, and formed one common dormitory for all the members of the family. This fashion continued universally among the inferiour ranks of the Welsh within these four or five ages, and with the more uncivilized part of the Highlanders nearly to our own times<sup>6</sup>. And even at no great distance from Manchester, in the neighbouring Buxton, and within these sixty or seventy years, the persons that repaired to the bath are all said to have slept in one long chamber together; the upper part being allotted to the ladies and the lower to the gentlemen, and only partitioned from each other by a curtain.

The hearth of the Britons seems to have been fixed in the center of their great halls; as some of the common people even in the nearer parts of Scotland, to this day, have the fire in the middle of the room, and the family sit all around it<sup>7</sup>. This was perhaps nothing more than a large stone, depressed a little below the level of the ground, and thereby adapted to receive the ashes. And about a century ago in Cheshire it was only the floor of the room, with the addition of a back or

Sect. III. hob of clay<sup>7</sup>. But it was now changed amongst the gentlemen for a portable fire-pan, raised upon low supporters, and fitted with a circular grating of bars. Such were in use among the Gauls of the first century, and with the Welsh of the tenth<sup>8</sup>. And such have continued among us very nearly to the present. They were large enough among the former to admit of two or three caldrons upon them, and as many spits before them<sup>9</sup>. And, from the mode remaining among our yeomanry at present, this seems to have been equally the case with the Britons in the hour of hospitality; equally in England and Gaul, the guests being feated by the fire, and the caldrons all charged and the spits loaded with entire joints of meat<sup>10</sup>.

The native Romans were ignorant of that inflammable fuel which we denominate Coal. And there are no beds of it in the compass of Italy. The great line of that fossil seems to sweep away round the globe from north-east to south-west, not ranging at a distance even from the south-easterly parts of our own island, as is generally imagined, but actually visiting Brabant and France, and yet avoiding Italy. But the primæval Britons appear to have used it. And in the precincts of Manchester particularly, which are furnished with an inexhaustible abundance of it, they could not have remained unapprized of the agreeable combustible around them. Our currents frequently bring down fragments of coal from the mountains, the extremities rising into day-light, and being washed away by the rains and rivulets. And, in the long and winding course of them through the parish,

the

the Britons would soon mark the shining stones in the <sup>Seft. III.</sup> channels, and by the aid of accident or the force of reflection find out the utility of them.

But we can advance still nearer to a certainty. Several pieces of coal were discovered a few years ago in the sand under the Roman way to Ribchester, when both were dug up at the construction of Mr. Philips's house in the Quay-street. Two or three of them were as large as eggs. And others were found in the same <sup>P. 393.</sup> bed of sand sixty yards to the west of it, and in the year 1770. But, what is more remarkable, the number of pieces in the former discovery was not less than thirty or forty, and a quantity of slack was dug up with them. And these circumstances shew the coals to have been lodged upon the spot, before the road of the Romans covered it. That ground being in the immediate neighbourhood of Mancenion, the Britons had there reposed a quantity of coals, probably for the use of the garrison; and many of the smaller fragments, and some of the slack, were buried in the sand upon which they were laid. That the Britons in general were acquainted with this fuel, is evident from its appellation amongst us at present, which is not Saxon but British, and subsists among the Irish in their Gual, and among the Cornish in their Kolan, to this day. And, that they made use of it in the Castle-field, is plain from the cindery drofs, the refuse of some considerable coal-fire, which has been lately discovered on the ground. It was found about six or seven years ago, a quantity of it lying in a pit three or four feet under the surface, and contiguous to the

Sect. III. Roman road at the extremity of the field. And it was also found about the same time, on cutting down the road there from the surface to the base; and to this day more imperfectly appears in the open and curious front of it. A remarkable seam of black rubbish extends for several yards betwixt two courses of gravel, one about a yard in height, and the other a foot in depth; spreads about two inches in thickness at the northern end, where the pit was found; and regularly narrows from it across the face of the road. This had evidently, therefore, been thrown upon the way by the Romans, from the materials of the pit upon one side; as they cast up the neighbouring ground to form the basis of it. And this naturally disposed itself, as it flew from the shovel, in the thickest course immediately under the hand, and in the thinnest at the farthest extremity from it. I have collected cinders from the seam, mixed with some metallick matter, that shewed the fire to have belonged to a forge in the Castle-field. And I have picked several large fragments of rock from the gravel immediately under the whole, which had evidently been brought from the neighbouring Medlock, and laid upon the way before it. And both Romans and Saxons appear actually using coal in Britain. In the West-riding of Yorkshire and neighbourhood of North-Brierley, as I have previously remarked, are many beds of cinders heaped up in the fields; and a number of Roman coins was found some years ago in one of them<sup>11</sup>. And as early as 852 a grant was made of some lands by the abbey of Peterborough, under the reservation of certain boons and payments in kind to the monastery, as

one night's entertainment, ten vessels of Welsh and <sup>Sept. III.</sup> two of common ale, sixty cart-loads of wood, and twelve of *gnæfan*, fossil or pit coal<sup>11</sup>.

The extensive beds of fuel, therefore, with which the kingdom of England and the precincts of Manchester are so happily stored, were first noticed by the skill and first opened by the labour of the Britons, and some time before the arrival of the Romans among us. And the nearer quarries in the confines of Bradford, Newton, and Manchester, would naturally attract the notice and invite the inquiries of the Britons, before any others. The current of the Medlock, which washes <sup>P. 305.</sup> the sides of them, would bring down specimens of the riches within, lodge many of them about the foot of the Castle-field, and allure the Britons successively to a collection of the one and a search after the other.

But, even for ages after the discovery, wood continued to compose the general firing of the nation; as, in the little rental of the above-mentioned estate, we see sixty cart-loads of wood reserved for the abbey, and only twelve of coal. The former naturally continued the principal article of our fuel, as long as the forests and thickets presented themselves so ready to the hand. And such it remained at Manchester to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, notwithstanding the discovery of another species of firing, which was equally accessible as wood. This is that loose and fibrous substance, which our mooses have so plentifully afforded us for ages, and we find so convenient in our houses<sup>12</sup>. And this most inflammable of all fuel would naturally be discovered before the coal, and be there-

Sect. III. ~~fore~~ known to the primitive Britons. But it makes its first appearance in history together with the other, and is equally mentioned with it in the Peterborough rental; the sixty cart-loads of wood, and the twelve of fossil coal, being accompanied with six of *geanda*, earth, or turf. And to these we now learned to add the charcoal of the Romans; and the method, which they taught us of making it, continues essentially the same to the present moment<sup>13</sup>.

P. 306. The Britons appear also to have opened their mines of lead, and extracted great quantities of metal from them<sup>14</sup>. In this employ, not only the Belgick, but the Aboriginal Britons were engaged. And the mines of the Silley isles were worked by the one, and those of the Peak by the other<sup>15</sup>. The lead-ore lay much more obvious to the notice and accessible to the labour of the inhabitants, than either the iron or copper. It was equally found indeed, at this period, in France and Spain. But the search for it in both countries was attended with much greater trouble and expence, than in Britain. And the veins of it here lay so immediately below the surface of the ground, and branched out in so great an abundance, that a very short period before the reduction of Lancashire, conquered as the Britons of Silley and the Peak had then been by the Romans, but still subjected, as I have said before, to the legislative authority of their respective sovereigns, a law was made by the latter to restrict the working of the mines, and prevent the overstocking of the market<sup>16</sup>. With lead the Britons tempered the bras of their skillets, arms, and coins. And therefore they made

made many of their domestick vessels with it. Lead Sect. III.  
and tin were for several ages the only metals, that they  
had within themselves. And, when the Romans en-  
tered the country of Chester, they seem to have found  
the former very plentiful among the inhabitants, and  
raised a rudely magnificent trophy with it; fixing more  
than twenty inscribed plates upon poles, and erecting  
them on the ground where they had defeated the Bri-  
tons.

But the tin was the most remarkable production of  
the island. Found both in Spain and Portugal, it  
was discovered much more plentifully in Britain<sup>17</sup>.  
And, being collected in the sand or glebe, it was cleared  
from the earth with water, fused in the furnaces, and  
beaten into squares<sup>18</sup>. This the original Britons in all  
probability, and the Roman actually, formed into cups,  
basins, and pitchers. And some of them have been  
transmitted to the present age. A basin of it was  
found a few years ago in Cornwall, four inches and  
an half in diameter at the brim and two and a half P. 307,  
at the bottom, having a small fluting round the outside  
of the former, and presenting a Roman inscription on  
the latter<sup>19</sup>. And a pitcher has also been discovered  
of the same metal, containing above four quarts and an  
half, gradually narrowing to the top, and fitted with  
an handle<sup>20</sup>. Nor was this all the use, that the Britons  
seem to have made of their tin. Taught by themselves,  
or instructed by their Roman masters, they probably, like  
them, lined the inside of their brazen vessels with it,  
and thereby prevented the tincture of brass<sup>21</sup>. And re-  
ceiving

Sect. III. receiving the knowledge perhaps directly from the Gauls, deriving it perhaps immediately from the Romans, they as probably practised the curious art which the Gauls had discovered, and which was recently used in making our bell-metal, of incorporating tin so intimately into brass, that the work had all the hardness of the latter and almost all the beauty of the former<sup>22</sup>.

But the Romans also taught us to combine two or three of our metals together, and form another, which should be more beautiful in its appearance and more convenient in its use, than any of them singly. This is that agreeable appendage of our tables, which the Romans called Argentarium or the silvery metal, and we denominate Pewter<sup>23</sup>. And of this the original Britons were ignorant. Even the Romans became acquainted with it, only a very little before the surrendery of Manchester to Agricola<sup>24</sup>. And the latter introduced it to the knowledge of the former; several pieces of it having been discovered within some of our Roman stations. I have a small fragment of Roman pewter in my own possession. It was found in 1766 within a meadow at Aldchester in Oxfordshire, which the nature of the ground, and its vicinity to the area of the town, shew to have been the site of the station. And it was even picked up within the walls of a ruined building, that was raised a little above the level of the meadow, and which the discovery of a tessellated pavement above, and of an hypocaust in one part below, plainly pointed out as the prætorium of the camp. But a much larger piece was discovered about sixty years ago at Ebchester in the county of Durham, some vain  
P. 308. searchers

searchers after other sort of treasure digging into the <sup>Sect. III.</sup> bank of the station, and lighting upon a considerable quantity of a melted metal, which they naturally supposed to be silver at first, but afterwards found to be pewter <sup>25</sup>. And the metals, that were joined together in the pewter of the Romans, were either tin and brass or lead and tin; as the proportion in which they were mixed was one third of brass to the tin, and one half or one third of tin to the lead <sup>26</sup>. This factitious metal was sold at Rome soon after its first appearance, at the rate of four shillings and ten pence a pound <sup>26</sup>. But that was only the common price of the tin at Rome; and even the lead was sold at two shillings and seven pence <sup>27</sup>. And all the three must have been considerably cheaper in Britain, as it was the staple of the two principal constituents of the Roman pewter, tin and lead, and as the expences of the long carriage from Britain to Rome would greatly enhance the original price of them.

<sup>1</sup> Solinus c. xxii, Metallorum largam variamque copiam, quibus undique generum pollet venis locupletibus.

<sup>2</sup> Diodorus p. 351.—<sup>3</sup> See Bulengerius c. xxix. in tom. 12. Grævius.—And see Giraldus's *Def. Cambriæ* p. 888.

—<sup>4</sup> Pliny lib. viii. c. 48. The beds of the Roman gentry at this period were generally filled with feathers, and those of the inns with the soft down of reeds, pro plumâ strata cauponarum replet, Pliny lib. xvi. c. 36.—And see Giraldus p. 888.—<sup>5</sup> See b. I. c. 8. f. 2. and the notes, for the kings of Wales using straw-beds in the tenth century, and those of England in the thirteenth.—<sup>6</sup> Genesis c. xl ix. and Bede lib. iii.

Sect. III. c. 27, Giraldus p. 888 for the common Welsh having their beds upon the ground, and *ibid.* and *Crit. Diff.* p. 140 for the Welsh and Highlanders lying all in one apartment.—<sup>7</sup> *Gent. Mag.* March 1754, and *King's Vale Royal*, Pt. I. p. 19.—<sup>8</sup> *Diodorus* p. 351, and *Howel lib.* ii. c. 1. a. 6.—<sup>9</sup> *Diodorus* p. 351.—<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*—<sup>11</sup> Dr. Richardson's Letter in *Leland* vol. ix, and *Saxon Chron.*—<sup>12</sup> Our moors of turbary are particularly mentioned in a record of 1322, and declared to be propter largitatem et diversitatem entirely unmeasured.  
*P. 309.* And the people had a right of common in them.—<sup>13</sup> *Pliny lib. xvi. c. 6.*—<sup>14</sup> *Strabo p. 265.*—<sup>15</sup> *Cæsar p. 88, Mediterranean,* and *Strabo p. 265.*—<sup>16</sup> *Pliny lib. xxxiv. c. 17, ultrò.*—<sup>17</sup> *Pliny lib. xxxiv. c. 16.*—<sup>18</sup> *Pliny ibid.* and *Diodorus p. 347.*—<sup>19</sup> *Phil. Trans. 1759, Pt. I. p. 13.*—<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*—<sup>21</sup> *Pliny lib. xxxiv. c. 17.*—<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*—<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*—<sup>24</sup> *Ibid. Nunc adulteratur.*—<sup>25</sup> *Phil. Trans. 1702 and 1703. N° 6.*—<sup>26</sup> *Pliny ibid.*—<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

## IV.

AT the period of Cæsar's expedition into the island, the woods of Britain were replenished nearly with the same varieties of timber as the forests of Gaul<sup>1</sup>. And the beech and fir are the only trees excepted by Cæsar. He asserts them both to have been strangers to Britain at that æra<sup>2</sup>. This, however, the generality of our criticks have affected to disbelieve; and have appealed against it to the beech-covered hills of the Chiltern, the fir-

fir-topt mountains of Scotland, and the fir-apples dis-<sup>Seet. IV.</sup>covered in draining our Marton Mere <sup>2</sup>. But these arguments, surely, could never have been thought of sufficient moment to overthrow one of the best historical authorities in the world, if they had not fallen in with that frivolous petulance of criticism, which has lately been very prevalent among us, and continually exalting itself against the testimony of Cæsar. Cæsar has explicitly asserted the fact. Cæsar appears in general, whatever the humoursomeness of antiquarianism has suggested, to have gained very accurate informations concerning the island. And if, in such cases, the credit of cotemporary relations was to be superseded by hypothetical reasonings, and the authority of peremptory assertions overborne by problematical arguments; the faith of records would be destroyed at once, and the authenticity of history utterly annihilated.—I cannot, however, subscribe entirely to the relation of Cæsar. Other and more forcible arguments present themselves to the inquisitive mind, that supersede the authority of that great historian, and shew one of the trees to be a native of Britain.

Among the many Roman names for the fir in the British language, there are three which are purely Celtick. The Scotch distinguish it by the appellation of Gius, the Irish by that of Giomhus, and the Welsh <sup>P. 310</sup> by that of Fynniduydh. But, if the fir had been introduced into Britain by the Romans, all the British appellations of it would have been, as some of them evidently are, the mere derivatives of the Roman Abies, Z-aban, S-ibuydh, S-apin, and S-abin. And the ex-

Sect. IV.istence of one British name for it is a presumptive argument in itself, that the tree was not introduced by the Romans, but was originally British.

Even in the third century only, firs appear in the unromanized regions of Caledonia and Ireland, and as the acknowledged aborigines of the country. And they are frequently mentioned in the poems of the Caledonian bard, not as plants seen by him on the continent or in the provinces, not merely as forming the imagery of a similitude, but as actually growing in both. The spear of a warriour, says an Irishman in Ulster, pointing to a neighbouring tree, “is like that blasted fir.” It is compared by another to the fir of Slimora particularly, a mountain in the north of Ireland<sup>3</sup>. And the tomb of a fallen hero, upon the western shore of Caledonia, is thus described from the reality by the poet himself: “Dost thou not behold, “Malvina, a rock with its head of heath? Three “aged firs bend from its face; green is the narrow plain “at its feet<sup>4</sup>.”

This tree is also discovered in our mosses about Manchester, together with the birch and oak, as frequent as the latter, and much more so than the former. And our moss-fir is not, as the wild hypothesis of some asserts it to be, a mere mimickry of the natural tree; merely an oak or a birch, that, lying for ages in the unctuous mafs, has discharged itself of all its original properties, and adopted those of the fir. Had this been the case, it could not be distinguished from the birch or oak; and all the trees of our mosses must have been equally firs. But this is the only one of them, that exhibits a

resinous quality. And it is as much discriminated to Sect. IV. the eye by the nature of its grain, as the oak or birch.

—Nor is that all. The fir is found in such of our P. 311. mosses particularly, as were demonstrably prior to the settlement of the Romans among us. It is discovered in some, that appear to the present period actually traversed by the roads of the Romans. And it is found immediately adjoining to the road, and absolutely on both sides of it. It is thus met with very commonly in the moss of Failsworth, close to either margin of the Street, and mingled with birches and oaks. And, as the road demonstrates the moss to have been formed before the settlement of the Romans at Manchester, so the trees discovered in it must have been equally prior to that remarkable period. This argument, I think, carries a decisive authority with it. But I apprehend that we can prosecute it up to demonstration.—The fir has been found in one of our mosses, not only in those parts which are immediately contiguous to the Roman road, but in such as are actually occupied and covered with the line of it, and in the spungy earth immediately below the gravel. It has been recently dug up by myself under the way over Failsworth moss. And I have now in my own possession two pieces of genuine fir, that were bedded with a birch-tree a yard and a half in the mossy soil, and three yards under the crown of the Roman gravel.

These are several arguments, which, springing from different sources, all happily unite in one common channel, and form together, I think, an irresistible force of evidence. And a fact which relates to the remotest antiquity,

Sect. IV. tiquity, and is asserted against the highest authority, cannot be too powerfully demonstrated. The fir, then, was one of the trees of Britain before the arrival of the Romans among us. But the beech was not. We have the positive testimony of Cæsar, that the latter was unknown to the island at the period of his own invasion. We have no demonstrative reasons, no forcible arguments, and indeed no arguments at all, against it. And p. 312. we have the strong attestation of the British language in confirmation of it, all its terms for the beech being evidently Roman, Faighe, Faghe, or Faydh. The Romans found the fir a native of the island. But they introduced the beech into it. And the tree which they found was not precisely the same that now grows amongst us. Our moss-fir is daily experienced in Lancashire to be of a much more resinous quality than the other. It could not have acquired this property, by lying in the mossy soil. And it is therefore of a different species, and the same assuredly with the Scotch fir, now totally extirpated in England, but preserved in the Highlands of Scotland<sup>1</sup>.

Nor was this the only tree which the Romans introduced into Britain. They first brought among us, as the British and present names of the trees sufficiently intimate, the Platanus or plane, Tilia or teil, and Buxus or box, the Ulnus or elm, and Populus or poplar. And the first, originally a native of Asia, and transplanted into Sicily, soon passed the strait into Italy, and before the year 79 had reached the most northerly shore of Gaul<sup>2</sup>.

The principal production of our orchards has derived Sect. IV. its present appellation among us from the British language, and in the Welsh, Cornish, Armorican, and Irish is invariably denominated the Avall, Aball, or apple. And it seems to have been brought into Britain by the first colonies of the natives, and by the Hædui of Somersetshire particularly. Hence we find the present site of Glastonbury to have been distinguished, before the arrival of the Romans, by the significant title of Avallonia or the Apple-orchard<sup>6</sup>. The fruit also so strongly recommended itself to the Britons, that another Avellana arose in the north of England<sup>7</sup>. And, before the third century, it appears to have been disseminated over the island, and had even stocked the distant and un-romanized regions of Thule with large plantations of the trees<sup>8</sup>. But to this, the only imported fruit-tree of the British orchard, the Romans naturally added several plants. And these appear to have been the pear, damson, and cherry, the Arbor Persica, perch, or peach, Aprica or apricot<sup>9</sup>, and Cydonia or quince. Cerasi or cherries were the native growth of Pontus and Egypt, and first introduced into the west by Lucullus, the conqueror of the former; being transplanted by him into Italy in the seventy-third year before the Christian æra, and carried by others into Britain within five years only after the first settlement of the Romans within it<sup>10</sup>. Pears, the original production probably of most of the southerly countries, abounded particularly in Italy, and, as is strongly intimated by the Roman name of the fruit in P. 313, Wales, Bretagne, Ireland, and England, Per, Peren,

Sect. IV. Piorra, and Pear, were brought by the Romans into Britain. And the damson had been long taken from the vicinity of its native Damascus, and accustomed to the soil of Italy, when the Romans entered the county of Lancaster<sup>11</sup>; and the British appellation of it, Daim-shin or Damson, remaining among the Irish and ourselves, denotes it to have been introduced into Britain by the Romans. The quince was originally the produce of Crete<sup>12</sup>. And the peach, transplanted early from its own Persia into Egypt, but carried very late into the west, was common in Gaul about the epoch of Agricola's conquests in Britain<sup>13</sup>. To these we may subjoin the Morus, Muyar, or mulberry, and the Castanea, Kastanuydh, or chestnut, the Ficus or fig, Sorbus or servis, and Mespilus or medlar<sup>14</sup>. The chestnut was originally the produce of Sardis in the Lesser Asia, but before the reign of Vespasian was cultivated with great success at Tarentum and Naples<sup>15</sup>. And the medlar was unknown to the Romans at the period of the last Punick war, and was originally brought into the west from Greece<sup>16</sup>.

The British garden, as I have formerly remarked, would at first be planted only with the flowers that naturally chequered our slopes or skirted our woods. But the Roman soon lent its friendly assistance, and transmitted some of its own flowers and plants into Britain. There, even under the greater moisture of our skie and the fainter liveliness of our sun, they took root in the island, and became familiarized to the clime. And the former, particularly, are now so thoroughly diffused over the country, shoot up so generally under the shel-

ter of our hedges and along the sides of our vallies, <sup>Sect. IV.</sup> that they are constantly considered as natives of the P. 314.  
soil. But the names of both sufficiently declare their origin, and their Roman appellations betray their Roman extraction. Such are the British Rhos or English rose, the Rosmarinum, Rhosmari, or rosemary, the Lili or lily, Violed or violet, Tim or thyme, and many others. The best roses in Europe were the Italian, and the best in Italy the Prænestine and Campanian <sup>17</sup>. And thyme, in the days of Vespasian, so greatly overspread the plains in the province of Narbonne, that many thousands of cattle were brought every year from the distant parts of the country to fatten upon it <sup>18</sup>. Such also were the more numerous and beneficial plants and seeds of the Radix or radish, the asparagus, cucumber, lettuce, melon, and peas, Fabæ, Faens, or beans, and mint, bete, fennel, and many others. The asparagus was a great favourite among the Romans, studiously cultivated by their gardeners, and fed to so enormous a size in the soil of Ravenna, that three of them only were a pound in weight <sup>19</sup>. The cucumber of the provinces was much larger than that of Italy, which was equally green and small, and so greatly esteemed by Tiberius, that he ordered pots of them to be fixed upon carriages, and regularly wheeled into the sun from their sheds, in order to have one of them every day in summer <sup>20</sup>. And lettuces were supposed to be uncommonly salutary by the Romans, after the great cure which Musa effected with one of them upon the person of Augustus, when the emperor's life was in the most imminent danger, and his physician boldly broke

Sect. IV. through the rules of the practice in order to prescribe it for him <sup>21</sup>.

The first obvious method of reducing corn into flour for bread, would be by the simple expedient of pounding. And that was for ages the only one which was practised by the various descendants of Adam, and actually continued in use among the Romans below the P. 315. reign of Vespafian <sup>22</sup>. But the process was very early improved by the application of a grinding power, and the introduction of mill-stones. This, like most of the common refinements in domestick life, was probably the invention of the antediluvian world, and certainly practised in some of the earliest ages after it <sup>23</sup>. And, like most of them, it was equally known in the east and west. Hence the Gauls and Britons appear familiarly acquainted with the use of hand-mills, before the time of their submission to the Romans <sup>24</sup>; the Britons particularly distinguishing them, as the Highlanders and we distinguish them at present, by the simple appellation of Querns, Carnes, or Stones. And to these the Romans added the very useful invention of water-mills. For this discovery the world is pretty certainly indebted to the genius of Italy; and the machine was not uncommon in the country at the conquest of Lancashire <sup>25</sup>. This, therefore, the Romans would necessarily introduce with their many other refinements among us. And, that they actually did, the British appellation of a water-mill fully suggests of itself; the Melin of the Welsh and Cornish, the Mull, Meill, and Melin of the Armoricans, and the Irish Muilean and Muilind, being all evidently derived from the Roman Mola and Molen-

Molendinum. The subject Britons universally adopted Sect. IV. the Roman name, but applied it, as we their successors do, only to the Roman mill. And one of these was probably erected at every stationary city in the kingdom. One plainly was at Manchester, serving equally the purposes of the town and the accommodation of the garrison. And one alone would be sufficient, as the use of hand-mills remained very common in both, many having been found about the site of the station particularly, and the general practice having descended P. 316. among us nearly to the present period. Such it would be peculiarly necessary to have in the camp, that the garrison might be provided against a siege. And the water-mill at Manchester was fixed immediately below the Castle-field and the town, and on the channel of the Medlock. There, a little above the antient ford, the sluice of it was accidentally discovered about six and twenty years ago. On the margin of Dyer's-croft, and opposite to some new constructions, the current of the river, accidentally swelled with the rains, and obstructed by a dam, broke down the northern bank, swept away a large oak upon the edge of it, and disclosed a long tunnel in the rock below. This I have since laid open in part with a spade. It appeared entirely uncovered at the top, was about a yard in width and another in depth, but gradually narrowed to the bottom. The sides shewed everywhere the marks of the tool on the rock, and the course of it was parallel with the channel. It was bared by the flood about twenty-five yards only in length, but was evidently continued for several further; having ori-

Sect. IV. ginally begun, as the nature of the ground evinces, just above the large curve in the channel of the Medlock.

For the first five or six centuries of the Roman state, there were no publick bread-bakers in the city of Rome <sup>26</sup>. They were first introduced into it from the East, at the conclusion of the war with Perses, and about the year 167 before Christ <sup>27</sup>. And, towards the close of the first century, the Roman families were supplied by them every morning with fresh loaves for breakfast <sup>28</sup>. But the same custom, which prevailed originally among the Romans and many other nations <sup>29</sup>, has continued nearly to the present time among the Mançunians. The providing of bread for every family was left entirely to the attention of the women in it <sup>30</sup>. And it was baked upon stones, which the Welsh denominate Greidiols and we Gredles. It appears, however, from the kiln-burnt pottery which has been discovered in the British sepulchers, and from the British appellation of an Odyn or oven remaining among us at present, that furnaces for baking were generally known among the original Britons. An odyn would, therefore, be erected at the mansion of each British baron, for the use of himself and his retainers. And, when he and they removed into the vicinity of a Roman station, the oven would be rebuilt with the mansion, and the publick bakehouses of our towns commence at the first foundation of them. One bakehouse would be constructed, as I have previously shewn one mill to have been set up, for the publick service of all the Mançunian families. One oven and one mill appear to have

have been equally established in the town: And the inhabitants of it appear immemorially accustomed to bake at the one and grind at the other<sup>11</sup>. Both, therefore, were in all probability constructed at the first introduction of water-mills and ovens into the county. The great similarity of the appointments refers the consideration directly to one and the same origin for them. And the general nature of all such institutions points immediately to the first and actual introduction of both. And, as the same establishments prevailed equally in other parts of the north, and pretty certainly obtained over all the extent of Roman Britain, the same erections were as certainly made at every stationary town in the kingdom.

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar p. 88.—<sup>2</sup> Plot's Staffordshire p. 216 &c. and P. 318.

Camden c. 967.—<sup>3</sup> Ossian vol. i. p. 2. and vol. ii.

p. 5.—<sup>4</sup> Vol. i. p. 127.—<sup>5</sup> And this, I suppose, is the old fir of Ireland, thus described by Giraldus; Ireland (he says) abundat abiete—, *thuriis et incensi matre*, Top. Hib.

p. 739. Camden.—Pliny lib. xii. c. 1.—<sup>6</sup> Richard

p. 19.—<sup>7</sup> Banna, Uxeludiano, Aval-aria or (as both

the MS. in the French King's library, and the Vatican

MS., agree to read the name) Avalana; in Ravennas.

And see an extract from Myrdhin Wylht, a poet of the

sixth century, where the apples of it are praised, in

Evans p. 77.—<sup>8</sup> Solinus c. xxii.—<sup>9</sup> This is provincially

pronounced in Lancashire, and was universally, pro-

nounced formerly (Polyolbion p. 298 Pt. 1.), not Apricot,

but Apricock, with that original and British termina-

Sect. IV. tien which forms Capet into Coppock, Mallet into Mollock, &c.—<sup>10</sup> Pliny lib. xv. c. 25.—<sup>11</sup> Lib. xv. c. 13.—<sup>12</sup> Lib. xiii. c. 19. and lib. xv. c. 11.—<sup>13</sup> Lib. xv. c. 12 and 13.—<sup>14</sup> Lib. xv. c. 20, 23, and 24.—<sup>15</sup> Lib. xv. c. 23.—

In the Phil. Trans. vol. lix p. 23 and vol. lxi Pt. 1. p. 136—169 is a dispute betwixt my learned friend Dr. Ducarrel &c. and the Hon. Mr. Daines Barrington, concerning the origin of the chestnut in England. The latter would gladly prove it to have been lately transplanted into the island, and from Spain probably. And the former would make it a native of the country. The arguments for its recent introduction have been overthrown, in the compleatest manner, by the Doctor and his two associates (p. 136—166). Nor has Mr. Barrington, in his reply (p. 167—169), even ventured to support them. And we may add to the reasonings one decisive observation, That the chestnut was in this island even as early as the twelfth century, was then common in it, was spread over the surface of the country, and even constantly grew wild in our woods. Giraldus Cambrensis, speaking of Ireland, says; *arborum—species quatuor, quas insula Britannica circa cultoris operam per se producit, hic deficiunt; castanus et fagus &c.* (Top. Hib. p. 739).—But, after all, is there not an error running through the whole controversy? And are not all the disputants mistaken in their main position? The chestnut-tree is demonstrably an antient inhabitant of the island. But it is not, therefore, a native. It may have been introduced in the earlier ages of our history. And, if my argument here from the Roman-British appellations

pellations be just, and reason suggests and history shews Sect. IV.  
that it is, the tree was first brought into Britain by the  
Romans.

<sup>16</sup> Pliny Lib. xv. c. 20.—<sup>17</sup> Lib. xxi. c. 4.—<sup>18</sup> Lib.  
xxi. c. 10.—<sup>19</sup> Lib. xix. c. 4 and 8.—<sup>20</sup> Lib. xix. c. 5.  
—<sup>21</sup> Lib. xix. c. 8.—<sup>22</sup> Lib. xviii. c. 10.—<sup>23</sup> Exodus  
c. xi. and Deuteron. c. xxiv.—<sup>24</sup> Cæsar p. 3. of the  
Helvetick Gauls, molita cibaria, and Strabo p. 287,  
 $\mu\alpha\lambda\gamma\zeta$ .—<sup>25</sup> Pliny lib. xviii. c. 10, Major pars Italæ  
ruido utitur pilo, rotis etiam quas aqua verset obiter,  
et molat; and Palladius lib. i. c. 42, Si aquæ copia  
est, fusura balneorum debent pistrina suscipere, ut, ibi  
formatis aquariis molis, sine animalium vel hominum  
labore frumenta frangantur.—<sup>26</sup> Pliny lib. xviii. c. 11.  
—<sup>27</sup> Ibid.—<sup>28</sup> Martial lib. xiv. E. 223.—<sup>29</sup> Pliny ibid.  
—<sup>30</sup> The women among the Saxons used generally to  
brew as well as bake. Of Hereford it is recorded in  
Doomsday, that cujuscunque uxor brazabat intus et  
extra civitatem dabat x denarios per consuetudinem to  
the king, the lord of the town (Gale's xv Scriptores  
p. 769. from Doomsday Book). And the Brewer in all  
our old statutes is always implied to be a woman.  
So in the great ordinance for bakers, brewers, and  
others, during the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I.  
and II, the brewer is constantly denominated Braciatrix,  
quæ &c. c. 6.—<sup>31</sup> See b. II. c. v. s. 2.

P. 319.

V.

AMONG the various trees which the Romans introduced into Britain, the most curious undoubtedly was the vine. And it appears to have been very common in the island a few centuries ago. From the name of vineyard yet adhering to the ruinous sites of our castles and monasteries, there seem to have been few in the country but what had a vineyard belonging to them. The county of Gloucester is particularly commended by Malmesbury in the twelfth century, as excelling all the rest of the kingdom in the number and goodness of its vineyards<sup>1</sup>. In the earlier periods of our history, the isle of Ely was expressly denominated the isle of vines by the Normans. Vineyards are frequently noticed in the descriptive accounts of Doomsday<sup>2</sup>. And those of England are even mentioned by Bede, as early as the commencement of the eighth century<sup>3</sup>.

That the Romans were the original introducers of the plant, we need no other testimony than the British appellations of it. Being brought by them into Gaul<sup>4</sup>, it was denominated the Vigne by the natives. And, being carried by them into Britain, it was similarly called by the inhabitants the Guin-uydhen, the Guin-bren, the Guin-ien, or Fion-ras, as it is still denominated in the Welsh, Cornish, Armorican, and Irish dialects. These appellations, like the Gallick, do not directly signify the vine, and only speak of it character-

racteristically as the wine-tree. And, as they shew <sup>Sect. V.</sup> the Romans to have been the first planters of it in both kingdoms, so this little peculiarity pretty plainly intimates the natives of both to have been acquainted with the liquor, some time before they cultivated the tree. Such would naturally be the case of both. Such appears to have been actually the case with the Gauls<sup>5</sup>. And the Caledonian Britons, who were strangers to the plant, were conversant with its produce before the middle of the third century<sup>6</sup>.

The former was not brought into Britain in the P. 320. first<sup>7</sup>, but was introduced before the close of the third<sup>8</sup>. And, confined as it would for ages be within the pale of the Roman government, it was transplanted into Ireland before the beginning of the eighth<sup>9</sup>. But the grape, or, as with an agreeable simplicity it was called by the Britons, the corn of the tree, the wine-grane, and the apple of the vine, was not, as it now is, merely raised for the uses of the table. All the arts of the vigneron would naturally be introduced with the plant. They were carried with it into Gaul. And, that they came together into Britain, the good knowledge which the Caledonians appear to have had of the liquor is a presumptive evidence, and the British appellation of wine-tree for the vine seems a strong argument. But Doomsday exhibits to us a particular proof of wine made in England, during the period preceding the Conquest<sup>10</sup>. And, after it, the bishop of Ely appears to have received at least three or four tuns of wine annually, as tythe, from the produce of the vineyards in his diocese; and to have made frequent reservations in his leafes

Sect. V. leases of a certain quantity of wine for rent. A plot of land in London, which now forms East-Smithfield and some adjoining streets, was withheld from the religious house within Aldgate by four successive constables of the Tower, in the reigns of Rufus, Henry, and Stephen, and made by them into a vineyard to their great emolument and profit. In the old accounts of rectorial and vicarial revenues, and in the old registers of ecclesiastical suits concerning them, the tithe of wine is an article that frequently occurs in Kent, Surry, and other counties<sup>11</sup>. And the wines of Gloucestershire, within a century after the Conquest, were little inferior to the French in sweetness<sup>12</sup>. The beautiful region of Gaul, which had not a single vine in the days of Cæsar, had numbers so early as the time of Strabo. The south of it was particularly stocked with them; and they had even extended themselves into the interior parts of the country. But the grapes of the latter did not ripen kindly<sup>13</sup>. And France was even famous for its vineyards in the reign of Vespasian<sup>14</sup>, and even exported its wines into Italy<sup>15</sup>. The whole province of Narbonne was then covered with vines: and the wine-merchants of the country were remarkable for all the knavish dexterity of our modern brewers, tinging it with smoke, colouring it (as was suspected) with herbs and noxious dies, and even adulterating the taste and appearance with aloes<sup>16</sup>. And, as our first vines would be transplanted from Gaul, so were they in all probability those of the Allobroges in Franche Compte. These were peculiarly fitted for cold countries. They ripened even in the frosts of the advancing winter.

And

And they were of the same colour, and seem to have Sect. V. been of the same species, as the black Muscadines of the present day, which have lately been tried in the island, I think, and found to be fittest for the climate <sup>16</sup>. These were pretty certainly brought into Britain a little after vines had been carried over all the kingdoms of Gaul, and about the middle of the third century; when the numerous plantations had gradually spread P. 321. over the face of the latter, and must naturally have continued their progress into the former <sup>17</sup>.

The Romans, even nearly to the days of Lucullus, were very seldom able to regale themselves with wine. Very little was then raised in the compass of Italy. And the foreign wines were so dear, that they were rarely produced at an entertainment; and, when they were, each guest was indulged only with a single draught. But in the seventh century of Rome, as their conquests augmented the degree of their wealth and enlarged the sphere of their luxury, wines became the object of particular attention. Many vaults were constructed, and good stocks of liquor reposed in them <sup>18</sup>. And this naturally gave encouragement to the wines of the country. The Falernian rose immediately into great repute; and a variety of others, that of Florence among the rest, succeeded it about the close of the century. And the more westerly parts of the European continent were, at once, subjected to the arms and enriched with the vines of Italy <sup>19</sup>.

But the scarcity of the native and dearness of the foreign wines in that country, several ages before the conquest of Lancashire, had called out the spirit of invention,

Sect. V. vection, and occasioned the making of factitious wines <sup>20</sup>.

These were still continued by the Romans, and naturally taught to the Britons. And they were made of almost all the products of the orchard and garden, the pear, the apple, mulberry, servis, and rose <sup>21</sup>. Two of them, therefore, were those agreeable liquors which we still denominate Cyder and Perry. The latter would be called Pyrum by the Romans, and is therefore called Perry or Pear-water by us. And the former assumed among the Romans the appellation of Sicera, which was colloquially pronounced by them Sidera, as the same pronunciation of it among the present Italians shews; and retains therefore the denomination of Cider among ourselves <sup>22</sup>. And greatly as the British language, and through it the original English, are enriched by the Roman, both have naturally received a much greater supply from the colloquial and later Latinity, than from the written and the classical; many truly Roman words occurring in both, which either do not appear at all or appear very different in the present remains of the Roman.

<sup>1</sup> F. 161, Saville, and Def. of Engl. prefixed to Hollingshead's Chronicle p. 110—111, Edit. 1586.—

<sup>2</sup> See Arpennis in Spelman's Glossary.—<sup>3</sup> Bede's Eccl. Hist. lib. i. c. 1. Smith.—<sup>4</sup> Diodorus p. 350.—<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

—<sup>6</sup> Ossian vol. I. p. 116.—<sup>7</sup> Tacitus Agric. vit. c. 12.—

<sup>8</sup> Vopiscus in Probi vita c. 18, Gallis omnibus et Hispanis ac Britannis—permisit, ut vites haberent vi-

numque

numque conficerent.—<sup>9</sup> Bede lib. i. c. 1.—<sup>10</sup> Spelman Sect. V.  
in Arpennis and Camden p. 319.—<sup>11</sup> Hollingshead p.  
110—111, and Malmesbury f. 161.—<sup>12</sup> Diodorus p.  
350, and Strabo p. 269.—<sup>13</sup> Pliny lib. xiv. c. 1.—  
<sup>14</sup> Ibid. c. 3.—<sup>15</sup> Pliny lib. xiv. c. 6.—<sup>16</sup> Ibid. lib. xiv.  
c. 2.—They were tried, I think, some years ago at  
Bath.—<sup>17</sup> Solinus c. 21.—<sup>18</sup> Lib. xiv. c. 14.—<sup>19</sup> C. 6,  
14, and 3.—<sup>20</sup> C. 16.—<sup>21</sup> Pliny lib. xiv. c. 16, and  
Palladius (Gesner, 1735) p. 993, 923, 924, and 901.  
—<sup>22</sup> Sicera—quæ—conficitur—pomorum succo: Hieron.  
tom. iv. c. 264. Paris, 1706.

## VI.

THE British horses must have frequently run wild  
in the woods and mountains of the island, as thousands  
at the present period expatriate in a state of freedom  
along the south of America, and numbers still range  
along the Highlands of Scotland. And they are ex-  
pressly described by the Romans, as at once diminu-  
tive in their size and swift in their motions<sup>1</sup>. This  
breed, therefore, still subsists among us in the garrons  
or galloways of Scotland, the merlins or ponies of Wales,  
and the wild hobbies of some forests in England. And  
it appears to have been improved into the much larger  
race of our present horses, by the introduction of a P. 323.  
bigger breed from the continent, and the careful incor-  
poration of the foreigners and natives. The standard of  
the Roman horses was larger than that of the British<sup>2</sup>.  
And we find a foreign breed actually introduced into the  
island,

Sect. VI. island, and some of them actually carried into the most northerly parts of the Roman government, before the conclusion of the third century<sup>3</sup>. The Britons harnessed their ponies to their cars, equipped them with bridles and girths, and mounted them with riders<sup>4</sup>. And the cavalry of their armies consisted equally of horsemen and charioteers<sup>5</sup>. But the Romans first taught us to cover the backs of our horses with saddles. Those in the coins of the British sovereigns have not the smallest appearance of one. The Irish had none on their horses even within these three or four centuries. And the British and present appellation of that covering is purely Roman, Sedile, Sadhell, or Saddle. In the annals of the Romans is it first mentioned. And the earliest person that is noticed in history to have used a saddle, is Constantine the Younger, the son and successor of the great emperor, and in the year 340<sup>6</sup>. The necks of the garrons, however, were frequently ornamented with collars, and their manes decorated with strings, of British pearls<sup>7</sup>. And the bits were composed of bones taken from the large marine animals that frequented our shores, polished carefully by the tool, and made nearly as bright as ivory.<sup>8</sup>.

But, if the horse was originally an inhabitant of Britain, the ass was a foreigner. The Romans and Spaniards trafficked much in it; and it bore a considerable price among them<sup>9</sup>. And, though its milk was not applied among the former to the purposes of medicine, it was early converted to the uses of vanity. In the higher period of their empire, it was supposed by the ladies to contribute much as a wash towards whitening the

the skin : and Nero's consort kept a train of five hundred milch-asses in constant attendance upon her, and had her bath continually replenished with their milk <sup>Sect. VI.</sup>. And this useful animal appears to have been brought into Britain by the Romans, as the only British appellations of it, the Asyn of the Welsh, the Atmorican Azen, and the Irish Afal suggest to us. But by the intermixture of them and the horses another breed was formed in the island, sharing usefully the nature of both, and distinguished by the Roman name of Myk, Mul, or Mule. And the Britons probably yoked their mules to their chariots, as the Gauls did theirs, and taught them all the various paces and ready obedience of their managed horses <sup>P. 524.</sup>.

Our British dogs were once perhaps as frequently wild as our horses, and have as great a propensity to become so at present. In the desert plains of Patagonia, where the European horses have lapsed into barbarism, the European dogs have equally lapsed with them ; and are also found savage in the beautiful island of Juan Fernandes. And the very word Brach, which appears from Shakespear to have been used among us about two centuries ago even for a lady's dog, is evidently the same with the Irish Breech, and a British appellation for a wild hound. These, however, were early reclaimed by the British hunters, and their principles of courage and powers of sagacity converted against their brethren of the forests. And all of them

\* "Truth's a dog must to kennels, he must be whipped out, when the lady Brach may stand by the fire, and stink."

Sect. VI. particularly attracted the admiration of the naturalists and the regard of the sportsmen among the Romans, before and after their conquests in the island. But the principal sorts which seem to be natives of the country are these five, the great household dog, the greyhound, the bulldog, the terrier, and the large slow hound.

The first is furnished with no sagacity of nose, but has an uncommon degree of vigour and courage. The fast hold which it takes with its teeth, and the general strength of its limbs, are incredibly great. And three of them have been always reputed a match for a bear, and four even for a lion. But we have some instances of their courage and vigour, that rise greatly above this general estimate. Henry VII. is said to have ordered one of them immediately to be hanged, in an exuberance of zeal for the pre-eminence of royalty, because it had the hardines to engage singly with its lord and sovereign, the lion. And in the reign of Elizabeth and the year 1572, my lord Buckhurst, our ambassador at the court of France for a few weeks, one day produced an English mastiff before Charles IX, which alone and without any assistance successively engaged a bear, a pard, and a lion, and fairly pulled them all to the ground. These dogs are equally distinguished from others by a surly dignity of aspect, a genuine good-nature, and an honest fidelity. We have a breed of them at Manchester, that is enormously tall and large; and children frequently ride upon them in play. And just such an one is represented on this coin of Cunobeline, and a child appears mounted sideways upon it; the worthy

worthy animal waving its tail, and turning up its face, Sect. VI.  
with a sensible satisfaction in its rider <sup>12</sup>.



The bull-dog enjoys equally a good nose and a gallant spirit. And the latter is so peculiarly great, that this animal has perhaps a larger share of courage than P. 325; any other in the world. Its boldness is remarkably enterprizing, and its resolution astonishingly determined. And the bravery of the breed has gained them the credit of a frequent mention, and the honour of an high commendation, in the records of antiquity. The Gauls even purchased them early for the uses of war, and embattled them with their native dogs for the fight <sup>13</sup>. Thus the Colophonii and Castabalenses formed the front-line of their armies with dogs ; and, after Marius's defeat of the Cimbri in battle, their dogs defended the baggage for some time against the victorious Romans <sup>14</sup>. And when

Atè, hot from hell,  
Cried Havock, and let loose the dogs of war

no longer in Gaul, the Romans exported them for the uses of hunting <sup>15</sup>. Strabo expressly commends them in general, as incomparable hounds on the field <sup>16</sup>. And Gratus, who wrote in the days of Augustus, presents us with this clear account of their value and use :

Quid freta si Moriaum, debio resuentia ponto,  
Veneris, atque ipsos libeat penetrare Britannos ?  
O quanta est merces, & quantum impendia supra,

## Sect. VI.

Si non ad speciem mentiturosque decores  
 Protinus! Hæc una est catolis jactura Britannis.  
 Ad magnum cum venit opus, promendaque virtus,  
 Et vocat extremo præcepis discriminé Mavors,  
 Non tunc egregios taurum admixtore Molosso<sup>s</sup> <sup>17</sup>.

But can you waft across the British tide,  
 And land undangered on the farther side,  
 O what great gains will certainly redound  
 From a free traffick in the British hound!  
 Mind not the badness of their forms or face :  
 That the sole blemish of the generous race.  
 When the bold game turns back upon the spear,  
 And all the furies wait upon the war,  
 First in the fight the whelps of Britain shine,  
 And snatch, Epirus, all the palm from thine.

P. 326.

Claudian particularly celebrates their activity and courage in the attack of the bull :

Magnaque taurorum fracturæ colla Britanna

— The British hound,  
 That wrings the bull's big forehead to the ground <sup>18</sup>.

And Symmachus, the cotemporary of Claudian, mentions seven Irish bull-dogs, Septem Scotici canes, as then first produced in the Circus at Rome to the great admiration of the people; who were so struck with their ferocity and boldness, the two characteristick qualities of this species, that they universally imagined them to have been brought over in cages of iron <sup>19</sup>. James the First is also known to have singled out one of his fiercest and savagest lions in the Tower, and to have turned

turned him loose upon a couple of our bull-dogs; See. VI. curious to observe how far their spirit and activity extended. And, to the astonishment of the whole court, the dogs shewed no signs of apprehension, did not decline the combat, and even provoked it; sprung upon the lion, engaged him closely with an equal courage, and at last, in spite of all his efforts, mastered him, and threw him on his back.

The greyhound was originally denominated by the Britons either simply and most commonly the Grech, Greg, or Dog, which the mode of liquifying the g into y among the Britons or Saxons has now softened into Grey, or less frequently but more particularly the Vertrag, Ver Trache, the eager or swift dog <sup>1</sup>. This elegantly molded species of our hounds was as much esteemed by the Romans for its fleetness, as the former was admired for its bravery; but was not, like that, peculiar to Britain. It was a native equally of the island and the continent, and therefore was sometimes denominated by the Romans the Gallick hound, and sometimes ranked among the hounds of the Britons <sup>2</sup>. Martial extols the honest disinterestedness of the dog in the following couplet:

Non sibi, sed domino, venatur *Vertragus acer,*  
Illæsum leporem qui tibi dente feret <sup>3</sup>;

For thee alone thy greyhounds chace the prey,  
And bring to thee th'untasted hare away.

Nemesianus, who wrote near the close of the third century, mentions them by a Roman appellation exactly equivalent to the Ver Trache of the Britons, and shews the fondness of his countrymen for them:

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P. 327.

— *Catulos divisa Britannia mittit*

*Veloces, nostrique orbis venatibus aptos* <sup>22</sup>;

Be thine the greyhounds of the British race,

And taste improved the pleasures of the chace.

And Gratius has given us a strong commendation of their swiftness, and a good general description of their nature; in which it incidentally appears that the Romans painted them:

— *Si — juyat compellere Dorcas,*

*Aut versuta sequi leporis vestigia parvi,*

— *Pictam maculâ Vertraham dilige falsâ.*

Ocyor affectu mentis pennâque cucurrit;

Sed premit inventas, non inyentura latentes

Illa feras — <sup>23</sup>.

— Would you chace the deer,

Or urge the motions of the smaller hare,

Let the brisk greyhound of the Celtick name

Bound o'er the glebe, and shew his *painted* frame.

Swift as the wing that sails adown the wind,

Swift as the wish that darts along the mind,

The Celtick greyhound sweeps the level lea,

Eyes as he strains, and stops the flying prey.

But should the game elude his watchful eyes,

No nose sagacious tells him where it lies,

There is a fourth breed of our dogs, which equally appears to be the production of the island. That is the race of our little terriers, so useful in the destruction of the weazole and polecat of our woods. And these

these and other classes of our woodland vermin, without <sup>Sect. VI.</sup>  
them, would have multiplied to an excessive degree in  
the country, and have proved a great annoyance to the  
poultry-yards and hare-parks of the Britons. The ter-  
rier, therefore, was necessary among us in that period.  
And it actually appears to have been then in the island.  
It is evidently described in the poems of Oppian, who  
lived in the days of Severus, and presents us with this  
circumstantial account of it :

Εἰς δε τι σκυλακῶν γενόντων αλκυμον ῥχεύητρων,

P. 328.

Βουλεν, αὐλαρ μεγαλῆς αὐλαξίου ερμέν' αὐδῆς.

Τος τραφεν αὔριας Φυλα Βρετανῶν αιολοκάλαιον

Αὐλαρ επικληδήν σφας Αγαστσαίς \* ονομήτραι.

Ταν ηλοι μεγεθόντω μεν ομοιούν θίδανοισι,

Διχυοῖς, οικιδίσις, τραπεζησσὶ κανεσσὶ,

Γύρον, αστεροβούλον, λαστιόριχον, ομραστὶ ναθεσ,

Αλλ' οικισσοις ποδαῖς κεκοριθμένον αεροάλεοισι,

Καὶ θαμνοῖς κυνοδοτοῖς ακαυχμένον ιοφοροισι.

Ρινοῖς δὲ αὐλε μαλισα παντούχοντο εἰνι Αγαστσεις,

Καὶ σκέψη ποναρίσσος επει καὶ γαστρι κοῦλων

Ιχυοῖς ευρεμένοις μεγα δη σαφόν, αλλα καὶ αὐλη

Ιδμαν περιην μαλα σημασασθαι αιδμην <sup>24</sup>.

A small bold breed, and steady to the game,  
Next claims the tribute of peculiar fame,  
Trained by the tribes on Britain's wildest shore,  
Hence they their title of Agassēs \* bore.  
Small as the race that, useless to their lord,  
Bask on the hearth and beg about the board,

\* A Gast or A Gafis (as Kist, the same word, is also Kis) signifies  
merely The Dog.

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Crook-limbed, and black-eyed, all their stanc<sup>t</sup> appears  
 Flanked with no flesh, and bristled rough with hairs ;  
 But shod each foot with hardest claws is seen,  
 Its kind protection on the beaten green ;  
 Fenced is each jaw with closest teeth around,  
 And death sits instant on th' inflicted wound.  
 Far o'er the rest he quests the secret prey,  
 And sees each track wind opening to his ray :  
 Far o'er the rest he feels each scent that blows  
 Court the live nerve, and thrill along the nose.

This is a very minute description of a British dog.  
 And those two particular strokes in it, the crookedness  
 of the limbs and leanness of the body, plainly appro-  
 priate it to our present terrier <sup>25</sup>.

To these we may subjoin another breed, which seem  
 to have been equally original inhabitants of the island,  
 and are now almost peculiar to our own parish. This is  
 the fine old hound of Manchester, which is so striking-  
 ly distinguished above every other in the kingdom by  
 the peculiarities of its aspect and frame. And it was  
 clearly the curious original, from which the many  
 striking and picturesque touches in these well-known  
 lines of Shakespear were immediately transcribed,

## HIPPOLITA.

I was with Hercules and Cadmus once,  
 When in a wood of Crete they bayed the boar  
 With hounds of Sparta ; never did I hear  
 Such gallant chiding. For, besides the groves,  
 The skies, the fountains, every region near,  
 Seemed all one mutual cry. I never heard  
 So musical a discord, such sweet thunder,

## THESEUS.

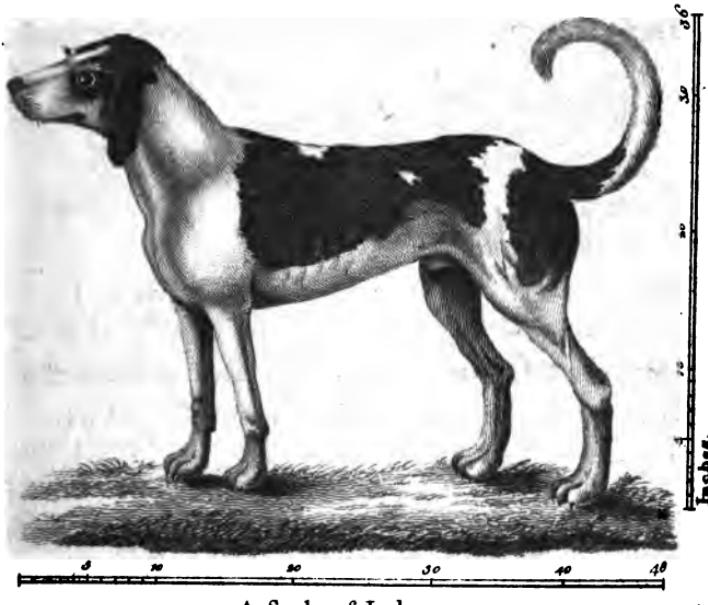
My hounds are bred out of the Spartan kind,  
So fiewed, so fanded ; and their heads are hung  
With ears that sweep away the morning dew ;  
Crook-kneed and dew-laped, like Theffalian bulls ;  
Slow in pursuit ; but matched in mouth like bells,  
Each under each. A cry more tuneable  
Was never hollowed to nor cheered with horn  
In Crete, in Sparta, nor in Theffaly.

This delineation is evidently taken from the life. And the largeness of the chaps and the dapples of the body, the sweeping ears and chest, the crooked knees, deep note, and slow motion, are all such clear and characteristick particulars as concur only in the Mancunian hound. The breed was in all probability once known in every part of the island. Near the close of the last century it was confined to one or two counties in the south-west, and to Manchester and its vicinity <sup>26</sup>. It now survives only in the latter. And the great size and present fewness of this remarkable race pretty loudly proclaim them to be natives of the island, and the last perishing remains of a British breed within it. Once lost in the north, the dog still continued in the south, and had there the honour to be delineated by the just bold pencil of a Shakespear. And it was first introduced into Manchester again from the south, and bears therefore among us the expressive appellation of the Southern hound. At Manchester it was noted by the observing eye of our poetical chorographer, Drayton, so early as the beginning of the last century ; and in his rough and dancing numbers is

Sect. VI. is thus strongly characterized as one of the illustrious peculiarities of Lancashire :

And for the third, wherein she doth all shires exceed,  
Be those great race of hounds, the deepest-mouth'd of all  
The others of this kind which we our Hunters call ;  
Which from their bellowing throats upon a sent so  
roare,  
That you would surely thinke that the firme earth  
they tore  
With their wide yawning chaps, or rent the clouds  
in funder,  
As though by their lowd crie they meant to mocke  
the thunder <sup>26</sup>.

And being lately carried from us into many of the neighbouring districts, and even into some of the southern counties, it there retains the note of its recenter descent in its newer appellation of the Manchester or Lancashire hound. But it has been long neglected by carelessness or design. Its characteristick bulk has been gradually diminishing for some time. And this old and venerable breed is dwindling away into little more than a larger generation of harriers. To preserve, however, what nothing but the pencil can, and so perfect the account that I have given of this hound, I have here added a view of one of them, which was taken a few years ago from the life and in full proportion, and has been reduced into miniature for the present work by the same person who made the drawings for the former edition, that example of a strong and extensive genius un-deprest by poverty, and yet almost lost in obscurity, the modest Mr. Clarke of Salford.



A Scale of Inches.

These were some of the original hounds of the island. And the Romans seem to have introduced into the one, and to have added to the other, the present breed of our common spaniels and harriers. The former carries evidently the signature of its origin in the singularity of its name; the appellation of Spaniard being a sufficient indication of its country, and the Roman termination, Hispaniolus or Spaniol, a full declaration of its Roman introducer. And the same race of our dogs is probably meant by the same denomination in these lines of Nemesianus,

Nec

## Sect. VI.

Nec tibi Pannonicæ stirpis tempnatur origo,  
Nec quorum proles de sanguine manat IBERO<sup>27</sup>,

Praised are the fires that own Pannonia's brood,  
And praised the puppies of HISPANIA'S BLOOD;

And in these of Oppian,

*Εξοχ' αριζηλοι, μακλαι τ' αγρευηπροι: μελοιται,  
Παιονες, Αυσονοι, Καρες, Θρηικες, ΙΒΗΡΕΣ<sup>28</sup>,*

First on the field appear Ausonia's race,  
Thy dogs, O Caria, and thy hounds, O Thrace;  
First from the hunter claim the favourite's meed  
Pæonia's offspring, and HISPANIA'S BREED.

The harriers, I suppose, are equally foreigners with these, as their only game, the hare, will appear hereafter to have never been hunted by the primitive Britons. And they are probably Tuscans. Nemesianus has given us the following account of the Tuscan dog: and the description agrees exactly, I think, with the common harrier:

*Quin & Tuscorum non est extrema voluptas  
Sæpe canum; sit forma illis licet obsita villo,  
Diffimilesque habeant catulis velocibus artus,  
Haud tamen injucunda dabunt tibi munera prædæ;  
Namque & odorato noſcunt vestigia prato,  
Atque etiam leporum secreta cùbilia monſtrant<sup>29</sup>:*

Nor on the file of hunters last is found

The merit, Tuscans, of your native hound;

What

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What though their form be shagged with roughen-Sect. VI.  
ing hairs,

P. 331.

Nor one faint semblance of the greyhound wears,  
Still will the table thank their useful care,  
Served with the frequent banquet of the hare ;  
They snuff her footsteps on the scented mead,  
They round her mazes to her secret bed.

And from the union of these and our Manchester dogs, I suppose, was that race of harriers originally generated, which is as remarkable for beagles as the other is for hounds, and almost equally confined to Manchester. These are evidently the great hounds in miniature, preserving on a smaller scale and in fainter colours all the striking peculiarities of their size, their aspect, and their note. And they have hitherto escaped the particular observation of the curious, because they were placed in the immediate neighbourhood of the others. The brightness of the sun throws every lesser luminary into shade. And, had the greater breed been now lost in Manchester, as it has lately been in the south, and as, before the present history was published, it seemed likely to be in two or three generations amongst ourselves ; these large and remarkable beagles would have appeared with peculiar lustre, and been considered equally by the historian and the naturalist, at present, as the valuable and only representatives of our antient hounds.

Sect. VI. —<sup>1</sup> Dio p. 1280.—<sup>2</sup> Ibid.—<sup>3</sup> Offian vol. I. p. 115, The  
 steeds of the Strangers.—<sup>4</sup> Pegge's Coins 4—C, 5—2 and  
 3, and 6—2, and Camden's 2—9 and 32.—<sup>5</sup> Cæsar p.  
 87, and Mela lib. iii. c. 6.—<sup>6</sup> It is then called a Sella,  
 a name exactly equivalent to Sedile or Saddle.—See  
 Ware's Antiq. (Harris) p. 160, and Top. Hib, p. 738.  
 Selliis equitando non utuntur.—<sup>7</sup> Borlase's Coins N° 12,  
 19, 20, and 22, and Offian vol. I. p. 11.—<sup>8</sup> Offian ibid.,  
 Strabo p. 307, and Solinus c. 22.—<sup>9</sup> Pliny lib. viii. c.  
 43.—<sup>10</sup> Ibid. lib. xi. c. 41.—<sup>11</sup> Claudian p. 244. El-  
 zevir.—<sup>12</sup> Def. of Engl. prefixed to Hollingshead's  
 Chron. p. 231, 1586, taken from Caii opera, Jebb,  
 p. 19. But the matter is evidently a little misrepre-  
 sented in both. They extend the king's order to all  
 the mastiffs in the realm; when the nature of the case,  
 and the correspondent order concerning the falcon,  
 shew it to have been confined to one of them.—And  
 see Pegge's Coins 4—5. This coin was first engraved  
 by Dr. Pettingall from Mr. Duane's collection,—  
 P. 332. —<sup>13</sup> Strabo p. 305.—<sup>14</sup> Pliny lib. viii. c. 46.—<sup>15</sup> Strabo  
 p. 305.—<sup>16</sup> Ibid.—<sup>17</sup> Gratii Cynegeticón p. 26. Lon-  
 don, 1699.—<sup>18</sup> De Laud. Stil. lib. iii. and Symmachus  
 lib. ii. Ep. 77.—<sup>19</sup> The same as Ger Brache. So Du-  
 ro-briv-æ, Brig-e, and Duro-trig-es, one word varied  
 into Briv, Brig, and Trig.—<sup>20</sup> Ovid's Canis Gallicus in  
 Met. lib. i. and Gratius's Inconsulti Galli in b. I. 194,  
 both compared with Nemesianus.—<sup>21</sup> Lib. xiv. E. 200.  
 —<sup>22</sup> Cynegeticón p. 123.—<sup>23</sup> Ibid. l. i.—<sup>24</sup> Ibid. Cam-  
 den p. 190. has strangely given this passage to our  
 present

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present gaze-hound. The mere reading of the words is Sext. VI. sufficient to shew the falseness of the application.—

<sup>24</sup> And all the diversion, that even the fox afforded in the eighth century, seems to have arisen only from un-earthing it. *Affuecant pueri* (says Alcuinus) — *non vulpium fodere cavernas, non leporum fugaces sequi cursus*, Malmesbury f. 13.—<sup>25</sup> Aubrey's Ms. in the Musæum Oxford, and Polyolbion p. 134, 2d part:—

<sup>27</sup> P. 123.—<sup>28</sup> B. i. l. 370.—<sup>29</sup> P. 117.

C H A P.

## C H A P. X.

THE BRITISH PROVISIONS AND RECREATIONS BEFORE  
 AND AFTER THE ROMAN ARRIVAL—THE WOODS,  
 MOSEES, AND WILD BEASTS—THE STREETS,  
 BUILDINGS, TRADES, &c. OF MANCHES-  
 TER—AND THE BRITISH MAR-  
 RIAGES, BURIALS, LET-  
 TERS, LANGUAGE, AND  
 MILITARY ART.

## I.

P. 333. IN the whole round of intellectual entertainments, few things carry so agreeable an appearance to the curious mind as the history of human manners. And that lower species of patriotism, which shoots up instinctively in every breast, makes it particularly pleasing to view our own national customs genuine as they rise in our annals, and to see those accidental combinations of ideas or rational modes of opinion, which prevailed in the more distant ages of our fathers, faithfully represented in the mirror of history. Nor is this satisfaction confined to their sublimer exertions of the understanding, their theories of political science, or their principles of taste in literature. It is even better

felt on the survey of their little fashions and fancies in Sect. I. the more characterizing scenes of lower life, in the exhibition of their private manners, and the detail of their domestick œconomy.

The provision for the table among the original Britons was taken chiefly from their herds of kine, their goats, sheep, deer, and hogs<sup>1</sup>. Their droves of the last must have furnished them, as their brethren the Gauls and Spaniards were furnished<sup>2</sup>, with a great variety of dishes. The Gauls produced the largest and best swines-flesh that was brought into Italy<sup>3</sup>. And the more northerly of them supplied the whole compass of Roine and the greatest part of Italy, in the days of Augustus, with gammons, hogs-puddings, sausages, and hams<sup>4</sup>. But to these the Britons must have added some others of the island beasts, and several of the island birds. P. 334. The former shall be specified hereafter. And the latter seem to have been the duck, teal, widgeon, and swan; the crane, stork, bustard, capercalze, and cock of the wood; the woodcock, quail, snipe, and heathcock or grouse; and the lark, the quoist or stock-dove, and others. These are all natives of the island, as either the appellations of them in the British language, or the incidental notices of history<sup>5</sup>, suggest to us. And none of them appear to have been prohibited, as some certainly were, by casual customs or religious obligations. The crane and the stork, once familiar to our tables upon great entertainments, and the indigenous inhabitants of our country, are now known to us only by relation. The former was common in Kent during the ninth century, among the mountains of Wales in

Sect. I. the tenth, and in the fens of Lincolnshire, one of the isles of Sylley, and various parts of Scotland, to the beginning of the last. And both of them were residents in Ireland at the close of the twelfth ; the storks however being very rare there, and all black ; but the cranes so numerous, as frequently to be seen in flocks of an hundred together. The Bustards also (or, as in the British mode of variation they were popularly called in the North, the Guistards) are pretty frequent in Ireland to this day ; were found, though rarely, in the Mers of Scotland within these two centuries, and on the plains of Lindfey in Lincolnshire within one and a half ; and still continue equally rare on Newmarket and Royston heaths and the downs of Salisbury. These birds are scarcely able to raise themselves from the ground because of their bulkiness, being even obliged to run against the wind, and beat their pinions, before they can take a flight ; and are equally slow in their motions afterwards. And for both reasons they are very shy, approachable by the fowlers only in covered carts ; and are reckoned a very excellent dish in season. The capercalze or caperkelly, or, as its appellation signifies in Erse, the hobbie of the woods, seems to have been so called exaggeratedly from its size, being about the bigness of a turkey ; and is therefore, like the bustard, frequently denominated a wild turkey in English. This was once assuredly common to all the island, but from its feeding on the tender tops of fir-branches, and loving high and solitary mountains and woods, has now for ages been peculiar to those of the Highlands. And it was even there, and even two centuries ago, confined

to the firwoods of Ross, Lochaber, and other mountainous parts of the country, being then highly prized for the delicate flavour of its flesh ; and is at this day in still higher estimation because of its additional rarity. But the cock of the wood, which has been recently confounded with the capercalze, and even by our British zoologist himself, though it is strikingly distinguished by its inferior size, the feathery covering of its legs, and its scarlet eyebrows, is about the bigness of a peacock, and is actually mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis under the name of a sylvestris pavo or peacock of the woods. And it was once, like the capercalze, an inhabitant of England in all probability, as it was very common in Ireland during the twelfth century, and in the Highlands during the sixteenth ; having gradually retired from England as it is now retreating from Ireland, on cutting down the woods that sheltered it ; and is now very rare even in the latter and the Highlands, but much valued for the uses of the table<sup>5</sup>. The markets of Rome, in the reign of Vespasian, were supplied with geese even from Picardy and Flanders, and the flocks travelled all the way on foot thither ; a much longer expedition for these birds than what has so often been admired among ourselves, their yearly journeys from Lincolnshire to London ; and, when any of them tired, they were removed into the front, and so pushed on by the advance of those behind<sup>6</sup>. And the Cheneros of Britain, most probably the Goosander of the present day, was particularly esteemed by the Romans as a dainty, and preferred by them for the table to most of the animals in the island<sup>7</sup>.

Sect. I.

But this British bill of fare was greatly enlarged by the Romans. And the intimate connection of the provincials with them, and their faithful imitation of the Roman manners, must have naturally dissolved the obligations, which the influence of accidental opinions had prescribed to their tables. The declension of the druidical religion, and, what would necessarily precede it, the relaxation of its practical rigours, would remove the restraints which the prejudices of national faith had imposed upon their palates. And geese, hares, and hens were no more prohibited to be eaten. The practice of cramming the latter was originally begun at Delos. But, being forbidden by a law at Rome a little before the third Punick war<sup>7</sup>, they were afterwards fattened with food steeped in milk, and even rendered more agreeable to the palate<sup>8</sup>. And the expedient of castrating the cock in order to improve its flesh seems to have been entirely a Roman invention, and was plainly introduced into Britain by the Romans, the victim of barbarous luxury being still denominated among us by his Italian appellation of Capon<sup>9</sup>.

P. 335.

Nor were the original prohibitions of the Britons confined entirely to these. They extended equally to the finny tribes, that inhabited their rivers and frequented their shores<sup>10</sup>. And, when any object has been employed in the ministeries of religion, it has naturally such an odour of sanctity thrown over it, as must prevent it from being used in the common offices of life. Thus the hare, being made use of by the Britons in that curious inquisition into futurity which has always made a part of every merely human religion, was therefore interdicted

terdicted the table. Thus also the goose and hen, which were equally interdicted the Britons, in all probability therefore were equally employed in augury among them. And their abstinence from fish seems to have resulted from the same principle. They exalted their rivers into divinities, and made the turbulent ocean around them ~~an~~ object of adoration. And some remains of the worship of both have continued to the present times, in the practices which the Scotch have preserved among their sequestered mountains and islands. The Highlanders to this day talk with great respect of the genius of the sea ; will not bathe in a fountain, lest the elegant spirit that resides in it should be offended and remove ; and never mention the water of rivers without prefixing to it the appellation of Excellent <sup>11</sup>. And in one of the western islands the inhabitants retained the custom to the close of the last century, of making an annual sacrifice to the genius of the ocean. A quantity of ale having been prepared by a general contribution against All-Saints day, and the whole body of the islanders being assembled on the shore, the occasional priest of the festival walked up to his middle in the sea, bearing a full cup in his hand ; invoked the deity by the title of Shony or Water, supplicated his kindness towards them, and poured the liquor in libation to the god. And then they all concluded the anniversary with feasting, dances, and songs <sup>12</sup>. This was the reason probably, why the Britons never fed upon fish. The same inventive spirit of religion, which stamped divinity upon rivers and the ocean, which offered a sacrifice to the sea, and feared to offend the

Sect. I. elegant genius of a fountain by bathing in it, would, in the full height of the superstition, naturally consider the scaly inhabitants of the sea and rivers as the little naiads of both, and as sharing a part of their divinity with them. And in the interiour parts of the Highlands, where original customs are preserved the longest, and the lower ranks of the people subsist only on a little oatmeal, milk, and blood drawn from their living cattle and boiled into cakes; even in such circumstances of distress for the necessary provision of life, the fishes of their brooks and lakes are seldom or never eaten by the natives to this day<sup>13</sup>.—But these were now laid open to the ravages of hunger and luxury among the provincials. Under the shelter of the prohibition they had continued for ages in peace, and multiplied into infinite numbers<sup>14</sup>. And they were now first pursued into their watery element, and first received their particular appellations. Hence the class of our fishes is so remarkably distinguished above the other ranks of our animals, by the much greater frequency of Roman-British denominations among them. The Minnow, Gudgeon, Trout, and Pearch; the Conger, Barbel, and Bream; and the Carp, Mullet, and others; were now taken from the channels and banks of our rivers. The Tunny, Sole, Salmon, and Ray; and the Cockle, Muscole, and Oyster; were now caught among the seas and shoals around us. And all made their appearance on our tables. The British oyster was deservedly famous among the Romans, and even as early as the reign of Vespasian thought worthy to be carried into Italy<sup>15</sup>.

The

The best were then gathered from the shore of Kent, Sect. I. being denominated the oysters of Rutupis ; and were of the same species probably, and collected from the same places, as those of Folkstone at present, which Mr. Twyne about two centuries ago commended above all the rest in the island, and therefore reasonably argued to be the genuine favourites of the antients <sup>16</sup>. And the Romans first taught us the art of fattening our oysters in beds, and of feeding our fishes in ponds ; those for the former being invented about ninety years before Christ, and constructed on the shore of Baiae, and large reservoirs being immediately made by others for the latter <sup>17</sup>.

But the Romans increased the variety of the British provisions, not only by the introduction of forbidden animals to the table, but by the importation of foreign P. 336. ones into the island. These seem to have been rabbits, pheasants, cuckows, and pigeons, partridges, plovers, turtles, and peacocks. And the perdix or partridge, the pluvialis or plover, the turtur or turtle, and the pavon or pea, all declare their origin in their names. The peacock was probably brought into Europe from the East-Indies, where it is universally common ; but must have been introduced in some very early period of time, since even Pliny speaks of it only as an European. And it was a dish of considerable répute among the Romans, though it was first placed upon the table by Hortensius the Orator about seventy years before Christ, in a supper which he gave to the sacerdotal college <sup>18</sup>. The rabbit was originally a native of Spain and its adjoining islands, and began to be brought into

Sect. I. Italy in the days of Augustus <sup>19</sup>: And, denominated Cuniculus by the Romans, it therefore received the appellation of Kunigl and Conifl among the Bretons, Kunningen among the Welsh, and Kynin and Kuinin with the Irish <sup>20</sup>. The cuckow just fledged was reckoned by the Romans of the first century, to excel every other species of birds in the fine taste of its flesh <sup>21</sup>. And its Roman name of Coccyx, remaining among us, shews it to have been brought into the island by the Romans. Here it is not considered as a bird for the table, but has been eaten by a few curious adventurers in feasting, and is said to be a delicate dish. And the Italians retain the fondness of their ancestors for it to this day. The domestick pigeon was once equally a stranger to Asia and Britain <sup>22</sup>, and bespeaks its introducers into the latter by the name of Klommen, which it bears in the Welsh, of Kylobman and Kolom in the Cornish, and Kulm or Kolm in the Irish and Armorick. And the Phasiana or pheasant was originally derived from the banks of the Phasis in Colchos, was carried into Italy before Agricolà's proconsulate among us, and appears plainly from its appellation to have been brought into Britain by the Romans <sup>23</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar p. 89, b. i. c. 1. f. 2, and Howel Dha L. 2. c. 26, a. 7.—<sup>2</sup> Varro de re rusticâ lib. ii. c. 4. and Strabo p. 293.—<sup>3</sup> Varro ibid.—<sup>4</sup> Strabo ibid.—<sup>5</sup> Offian p. 58, and 145. vol. I. and p. 223 vol. II.—And see Top. Hib. p. 706 for Grutæ or Grouse; Howel Dha p. 25, b. i. ch. 10. f. 2. and note 22, Polyolbion p. 107 (pt. 2),

D. of Eng. in Hollingshead, p. 34, and *Leslæi Hist.* Sect. I. 1675, p. 24, for cranes; Smith's Cork vol. ii. p. 329, Polyolbion p. 113 (pt. 2), Boethius Scot. Def. 1576. fol. 7, and *Leslæi Hist.* p. 24, for bustards; Top. Hib. p. 705 and 706, for cranes and storks; *Leslæi Hist.* p. 24, and Birt's Letters p. 169, for the capercalze; and Top. Hib. p. 706, Pennant's Tour p. 278, Harris's Ware p. 172 and Smith's Cork vol. ii. p. 328, and *Leslæi Hist.* p. 24, for the cock of the wood.

Mr. Pennant in his Scotch Tour says thus: "Cock of the wood—formerly was common throughout the Highlands, and was called Capercalze and Auercalze, and in the old lawbooks Caperally" (p. 278—279). But bishop Lesley has accurately distinguished one from the other. And Mr. Pennant has totally omitted the real capercalze, as the author of the letters from the Highlands has equally omitted the cock of the wood, or confounded it with the black cock (see him p. 169). The bishop has noted all three. In *Rossiâ* (says he)—, *Loquhabriâ, et aliis montanis locis, non desunt abietes, in quibus avis quædam rarissima, capercalze, id est, sylvester equus, vulgo dicta, frequens sedet, corvo illa quidem minor* [The bishop is greatly erroneous here in the size of his capercalze], *quæ palatum edentium sapore longè gratissimo—delinit. Vicitat ex solis abietis extremis flagellis. Alia avis est etiam in his regionibus numerosa, superiore minor, bursitis pedibus, palpebris rubricantibus; nostri gallum tescorum dicunt. Est et alia nusquam nisi in tescuis vicitans, fasiano illa quidem minor, sed colore, atque partim sapore, haud dissimilis; nostri nigrum tascorum gallum appellant. This last is*

Sect. I. the black grouse of our mountainous heaths in the north of England, though mentioned in Birt's Letters as peculiar to the Highlands.—

<sup>6</sup> Pliny lib. x. c. 22.—*Anserini generis* (says Pliny) sunt chenalopeces, et, quibus lautiiores epulas non novit Britannia, Chenerotes, fero ansere minores. The Cheneros was not the wild-goose, being expressly distinguished from it. And yet it was of the goose-kind. It was most probably the Goosander, which corresponds exactly with the only mark in this description, in being less than a wild-goose. It is generally about four pounds in weight, while that is seven. And it is, what none of the kind are besides, of a beautiful aspect. The rest would repel, while this would provoke, the appetite of luxury or hunger. The head and upper part of the neck are of a shining green, the body is variegated with white and black, and the feet are a fine red. It is found in Lincolnshire &c.—<sup>7</sup> Pliny lib. x. c. 50.—

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.—<sup>9</sup> Martial lib. xiii. E. 63 and 64. and Columella p. 634. Gesner.—And the Romans had hen-coops. They were first invented in Italy, and were very common in the days of Agricola: Pliny lib. x. c. 21. See

P. 337. two ancient representations of a Roman hen-pen in Montfaucon's Ant. Expl. tom. ii. plates 63. N° 3. and 64. N° 1.—<sup>10</sup> Dio p. 1280.—<sup>11</sup> Macpherson's Introduction to the Hist. of Great Britain and Ireland p. 163—164—<sup>12</sup> Harris's W. Islands, Ed. 2, p. 28—29.—And Shony is the same word as makes the British names of some rivers in these islands and on the continent, the Sena or Shann-on of Ireland, the Seine of France, the Senney of Brecknockshire, and the Seny of Leicestershire,

shire, which all signify only water.—<sup>13</sup> Birt's Letters Sect. I.  
vol. ii. p. 121.—Mr. Macpherson, with his usual unhappiness of argumentation, contends in p. 163—164 against the notion of the Britons worshipping rivers and the sea, in direct opposition even to his own evidence, and in full contradiction to the custom of the western islanders and the testimony of Gildas. I mention not, says the latter, *montes ipsos, aut colles, aut fluvios*—, *quibus divinus honor a cæco tunc populo cumulabatur* (c. 2).—Mr. Macpherson also informs us in p. 163, that the Highlanders speak with great respect of the Spirit of the Mountain. But he argues, notwithstanding, that the Britons never worshipped mountains; though the Highland practice plainly shews that they did, and though Gildas here expressly assures us of the fact: *montes ipsos, aut colles, quibus divinus honor—cumulabatur*. And, if there were any wild beasts that could be said to be the peculiar and appropriate inhabitants of mountains, as fishes are of the sea and rivers, the British abstinence must have naturally extended to those as these.—<sup>14</sup> Dio p. 1280.—<sup>15</sup> Pliny lib. ix. c. 54.—<sup>16</sup> Juvenal's fourth Sat. And see Lombard's Kent, 1596, p. 170.—<sup>17</sup> Pliny c. 54. lib. ix.—<sup>18</sup> Pliny lib. x. c. 20.—<sup>19</sup> Varro lib. iii. c. 12.—<sup>20</sup> Pliny c. 55. lib. viii.—<sup>21</sup> Pliny lib. x. c. 9.—<sup>22</sup> C. 29. lib. x.—<sup>23</sup> Lib. x. c. 48, and lib. xix. c. 4.

## II.

THE face of the island, at this period, was everywhere tufted with large woods<sup>1</sup>. And some particular districts of it were covered with immense forests. Three of these were distinguished over the rest by the wild extensiveness of their range. One was in Scotland, and lined all the hills in the central parts of the Highlands<sup>2</sup>. Another was the great forest of the Coritani, which contained several towns and the seat of a whole nation within it, and straggled over the five counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, and Rutland, and even such parts of Northamptonshire as lie to the north of the Nen<sup>3</sup>. But the third was still larger than either, and swept across the south of the island for an hundred and fifty miles together, ranging even from Kent into Somersetshire<sup>3</sup>. These necessarily remained the secure harbours and great nurseries of the many wild beasts, which were then produced in the country. And the lesser woods and forests of the kingdom would be perpetually replenished from them. In this appearance of the island, the spirit of hunting which actuated the primæval Britons would be kept alive in the Roman, by the nearly equal frequency of the game in the woods, and the nearly equal necessity of preventing its increase upon them. And the beasts, which roamed in the thickets, and were chased by the hunters, seem to have been these.

P. 338. Branching horns of a most extraordinary size have been found in several parts of England and Ireland, and some

some of them still fastened to the heads of their owners <sup>4</sup>. Sect. II.  
And the discovery of these equally in both kingdoms,  
and the frequency with which they have been met  
with in both, shew the original proprietors to have  
been certainly inhabitants of the islands. The horns  
have been supposed by some, and are asserted by the  
tradition of Ireland, to be those of an elk. But, as  
that animal appears from its Latin appellation among  
us to have never been a native of Britain, so are its horns  
very different in figure and much inferiour in size to  
these. These appear plainly to be the relicks of deer.  
They are therefore the antlers of a large stout breed of  
them. And it must have been uncommonly large. Se-  
veral of the horns were so tall, that the fairest antlers  
of our deer at present would appear as insignificant in  
the comparison, as the young shoots of a fawn com-  
pared with the beams of a buck. And some of them  
branched out to so enormous a width, that the tip of  
the one was nearly eleven feet distant from that of  
the other <sup>4</sup>. This race is now lost in Britain and Eu-  
rope. But it still seems to subsist in the Moose of  
America, and to have been originally frequent in the  
north of Germany; the horns of the former, and the  
antlers discovered in the British isles, being nearly of  
the same standard <sup>4</sup>; and the American moose and  
Scythian Tarandus described by the naturalists in  
the same manner. The former is said by the most  
circumstantial accounts of it to be about the size of a  
bull, and the latter about the bigness of an ox.  
That is asserted to have a neck resembling a stag's,  
and this a head greater than a stag's and not unlike it.

And

sect. II. And both are mentioned to have large branching horns, cloven hoofs, and shaggy hides<sup>5</sup>. These appear to have been denominated by the Britons Seghs, Oxen, or Savage Deer, as Segh signifies the one at present, and in an old Irish glossary is interpreted the other<sup>6</sup>.

P. 339. And a smaller breed of them, the same that are denominated the Grey-Mooses or Wampooeses in America, actually continued in Ireland to the twelfth century: being described by an author, the cotemporary of Henry the Second, among the wild beasts of the island; as stags little calculated for flight because of their extreme bulkiness, rather short in the body, but greatly superiour to all others in the largeness of their heads and dignity of their antlers<sup>7</sup>. The large black moose would naturally be the first destroyed. And the smaller would continue the longest, because it could shelter itself the best.

Both, however, were only a peculiar species of our island deer. The common race were the large red sort, which have horns much greater than our present bucks, are still found wild in our own forest of Bowland and several other parts of Britain, and formerly, I believe, abounded in all our woods. And these were hunted by the Britons, in all probability, with that big bold dog which exists in Ireland at present, and is popularly denominated the Irish wolf-dog. Ireland, says an author who wrote two centuries ago, is not without wolves, or greyhounds to hunt them, that are bigger of bone and limb than a colt. Scotland, says another of the same period, in the first class of her hounds ranks a breed, which is superiour to a yearling bull-

self in size, and used equally in hunting the stag and Sect. II. the wolf<sup>a</sup>. And the buck-hound of the Britons, like the dog of Ireland, was grey-coloured, long-bodied, and ill-scented, active enough to run down and strong enough to master a British stag<sup>b</sup>. Both are therefore the same with that Irish greyhound, for which particular court was made by a Spanish nobleman to Henry VIII., and a privy seal issued to the lord deputy and council of Ireland; and which was even solicited the most acceptable of all presents by the Great Mogul in 1617<sup>c</sup>. And all are the same with that old greyhound of the Highlands, which is now become scarce among them, as the other is in Ireland, but was formerly in great repute for the magnificent stag-hunts the chiefs; being very swift, bold, and large, very strong and deep-chested, and covered with very long and rough hair<sup>d</sup>.

But entirely different must have been the game of the Manchester hound. The uncommon length of its body, and the considerable strength of its jaws, are evidently less in its present courses after the hare; as the lankiness of its frame, and consequent flowness of its motions, equally disqualify it for chasing the stag. And the race, which has been long dwindling at Manchester, in the great neglect and gradual extinction of it in the south seems to have been equally dwindling there ages, and in all probability before the strain was introduced into Manchester. Large therefore and as the dog is at present, it was once considerably larger and fowler. And its size has been studiously diminished among us, in order to increase its speed. In this

Sect. II. this view of the hound, enormously tall and long, and uncommonly heavy and slow, we can find only one species of game that is rightly adapted to it. The boar, the wolf, and the stag are all too fleet for its motions. Its genuine object must have been some animal, that P. 340. was at least as heavy and as slow as itself. And that could have been only the British Segh or Moose. In this, and only in this, designation of the dog, I think, all its remarkable qualities are properly combined together, and have all their adequate object. The great bulk of the game required a proportionate size in the hunter, as the strength of the one must have been in some measure correspondent to that of the other. The formidable armoury, which the segh carried about him in his branching antlers, required the segh-dog to be once animated with a considerable resolution for the attack, and furnished with strong fangs for the hold. And, as the slowness of pace in the latter resulted from the same cause with, and therefore was justly adapted to the same slowness in the former, so was it sufficiently compensated by the exhilarating tones of its mouth and the sure sensibility of its nose.

The wolf, which in some respects seems nothing more than a savager species of dogs, is therefore denominated Madre Allaidh or the wild hound by the Irish to the present day, and was actually employed as a dog for hunting by the original inhabitants of North-America. This animal is well known to have been harboured in England for ages after this period, even continued in Scotland to the commencement of the last century, and even remained in Ireland to the present<sup>o</sup>. And the boar is equally know-

to have lived in our woods, being represented on a coin of Cunobeline under the shade of a tree, particularly celebrated in a Roman-British inscription, and remaining with us several centuries after the wolf <sup>10</sup>.—But our woods also bred a number of wild bulls at this period. The common cattle of the island, I suppose, must frequently have run wild along our heaths and forests; as the kine of Europe range freely in herds at present along the levels of Patagonia. And the wild cows and bulls of the country continued very frequent among us in the fourth century, and even for several ages afterward <sup>11</sup>. These were merely of the usual size, but all milk-white in their appearance, all furnished with thick hanging manes like lions, and almost as fierce and savage as they <sup>12</sup>.—Nor were these the only beasts of our woods. We had also a numerous breed of bears in them. And the hills of Portugal, the mountains of Spain, and the forests of Britain, all equally produced a variety of bears at this period <sup>13</sup>. These continued in the north of England as late as the eighth century. And they seem to have remained in the south even to the Conquest. When any one, says the Penitential of Egbert, strikes a wild beast with an arrow, and it escapes and is found dead three days afterwards, if a hound, a wolf, a fox, or a *bear*, or any other wild beast, hath begun to feed upon it, let no Christian touch it. The town of Norwich, says Doomsday, in the time of the Confessor furnished annually one *bear* to the king, and six dogs for baiting it <sup>14</sup>.—And these inhabitants of our woodlands were chased by the hounds which still continue among us, and still point out the

Sect. II. original nature of their game in their appellations of Bear-dogs, Bull-dogs, and Wolf-dogs.

All animals were in a great degree, probably, civilized at their release from the ark, and some of them carried equally tame by the first colonies into the west, and wafted in the same vessels with their masters into Britain. And there multiplying in considerable numbers, and roving into the woods for food, they were no longer conversant with man or subject to the uniform restraints of authority, and in the course of two or three generations would absolutely sink into savages. Such was probably the case, as the confinement in the ark for more than a year would necessarily have tamed in some degree the wilder, and have greatly civilized the gentler. This also explains that considerable difficulty in natural history, which is scarcely explainable on any other principle, the transportation of savage beasts from the continent into distant islands<sup>a</sup>. And we know even the most civilized of all our domestick animals, our horses, dogs, and kine, to have been carried into America, and there, in this manner and in a short period, to have gradually fallen away from their former dispositions, and become as savage as

P. 342.

<sup>a</sup> In the Genuine History of the Britons Asserted, I have hinted at another supposition. And the reader may decide betwixt them. The Gauls about Calais, as I have observed, being accustomed to see this island daily from their own shores, "soon passed over in all probability from mere motives of curiosity,—perhaps stocked some of the nearer woods with wild beasts for hunting, and ages afterwards settled &c." p. 99.

most

most of those which are peculiarly denominated wild beasts. Sect. II.

All these were now caught for food and kept for diversion by the Roman Britons. The bear was even transported into Italy, was baited publickly in the Roman shews, and furnished considerable sport to the people<sup>15</sup>. And the bull, the bear, the boar, and the wolf must have been equally employed in the same service by the Romans in Britain, and by their imitators the provincials. The baitings of wild animals were the favourite spectacles among the Romans; and those of the bull and bear are the great diversions of our dogs and populace at present. In some very antient constitutions of the Welsh it is expressly declared, that, of the nine sorts of wild beasts which were hunted, only three of them were baitable, and that the bear was one<sup>16</sup>. And, as I have lately shewn, Norwich was obliged by the Saxons to furnish even the king with one bear annually; and six dogs for baiting it. For these exhibitions, edifices were constructed at Rome, of squared stone and in a magnificent style of architecture. And others were erected on the island, in an humbler style, and of the humbler materials of clay, chalk, gravel, and turf. Such are the great amphitheaters at Silchester in Hampshire and Dorchester in Dorsetshire, once ascending in several rows of seats, and still shewing a pit of nearly two hundred yards in circumference<sup>16</sup>.

But the pleasures of the chace were not the only recreations of the primæval Britons in the field. With a fondness for the exercise of hunting, they had a

Sect. II. taste for the diversion of hawking. And every chieftain among them maintained a considerable number of birds for the sport. This appears from a curious passage in the poems of Offian, in which a peace is endeavoured to be gained by the proffer of a hundred managed steeds, a hundred foreign captives, and “a hundred hawks with fluttering wing that fly across the sky”<sup>17</sup>. But hawking was scarcely known, even by relation, to the Romans of Vespasian’s days. In *Thraciae parte super Amphiopolim*, says Pliny in a curious passage, which is obscured by the darkness of his own ideas concerning the thing related, *homines atque accipitres societate quâdam aucupantur : hi ex sylvis et harundinetis excitant aves, illi super-volantes depriment ; rursus captas aucupes dividunt cum iis : traditum est missas in sublime fibi excipere eos ; et, cùm tempus sit capturæ, clangore ac volatûs genere invitare ad occasionem*<sup>18</sup>. And yet the diversion appears to have been introduced among them immediately afterwards<sup>19</sup>.

P. 343. The Thracians and Britons were once the only followers of the sport<sup>20</sup>. Among the former, it was pursued merely by a particular district of the country<sup>20</sup>. But, with the latter, it seems to have been universal among the barons, and to have been followed with spirit; as we find one of the most northerly chiefs, the private head of a clan, and an inhabitant of a country ill-adapted for the exercise because of its hills, offering no less than a hundred hawks to the enemy. And, as the Romans adopted their own use of the bird from the Britons probably, so they greatly improved the British diversion by the introduction of spaniels into

the island. In this state it appears among the Roman Britons of the sixth century. Gildas, in a remarkable passage of his Epistle, speaks of Maglocunus on his relinquishing the sphere of ambition, and taking refuge in a monastery ; and poetically compares him to a dove, that hastens away at the noisy approach of the dogs, and with various turns and windings takes her flight from the talons of the hawk <sup>21</sup>. And in this state hawking remained, the favourite recreation of our gentlemen for many ages ; and the predominant spirit of inclosing, and the fabrication of light fowling-pieces, have not yet banished it entirely from the kingdom <sup>22</sup>. Driven from the south, and practised, I believe, in no one part of England at present, it has taken refuge in Scotland, and is still kept up by the gentlemen of the Highlands <sup>22</sup>.

Such were the manly and military recreations of our British ancestors. Such the Romans found among them. And they made an addition of three others.

The hare could never have been hunted in Britain before the Roman conquests. Previously to them, and for some time assuredly after them, it was, as I have already observed, a beast of augury among the Britons <sup>23</sup>. But, as their peculiarities of opinion were worn away by their commerce with their masters, it lost its importance in the science of augury, and became as much exposed to danger in Britain as its brethren were on the continent. This would naturally be the case with the animal. And it appears to have been actually so, from the representations of hare-hunting which are made on several of the Roman-British remains among

P. 344.

Sect. II. us<sup>24</sup>. The Britons and Romans may even seem perhaps to have particularly cultivated this diversion, and to have formed a remarkable species of harriers for the purpose. And the race remains at Manchester to the present moment.—When the great hound was lost there many centuries ago, the name and the breed would soon be forgotten together. And, on its re-appearance from the south, the seeming stranger assumed the denomination of the southern hound. But it had probably been coupled with the common harrier before it was destroyed among us, and had left its progeny in the present beagle behind it. And the fact perhaps happened about the Roman period. As the moose-deer became gradually rarer, and was at last exterminated in our woods, the moose-dog would be found more and more useless in its original dimensions and strength. And, the hare becoming a principal object in hunting, the strain would naturally be crossed with the harrier, to reduce its size, augment its speed, and yet preserve its form and note. Hence arose probably the generation of our Manchester beagles, the exact miniatures (as I have formerly observed) of our large hounds. And when this had been done, when the only peculiarities of the dog, that were now of any moment in the estimate of a mere hunter, had been happily transferred to another, it would be thrown aside, suffered to mingle casually with every species, and so be gradually diffused and lost. But it would naturally keep the same appellation in its diminished state, that it had borne before. And, when the parent breed became extinct, the new one would enjoy the denomination without a rival,

Hence

Sect. II.

Hence our Manchester beagles retain to this day the familiar and appropriate title of the Kibble-hounds ; one equally confined as the race, and totally unknown among us as to its etymology or import. But the appellation is purely British, transmitted to us from our British ancestors, and remaining at present in the language of Ireland. The terms Cuib and Gibne are both of them used by the Irish for their greyhound, and are evidently the same with our Kibble ; as we have Kurak in Irish and Korug and Kurugl in Welsh for a Coracle, Kryd and Dysgl in the latter for a cradle and a dish, and Greideal in the former for a grid-iron. And the name, which is thus applied in Ireland and at Manchester to two such different kinds of dogs as the beagle and the greyhound, properly signifies only a hound in general. Thus does the remarkable moose-dog of the Britons appear to have been distinguished among them by the peculiar denomination of the Kibble. And the Manchester beagles preserve to this moment the primary appellation that was given to the Manchester hounds. The latter were a new colony introduced into the parish from the south, and some time after the extinction of its original number. And the former are therefore more dispersed over the neighbouring country than they, and not marked, like them, with titles expressive of their derivation from Manchester.

The Spaniards used originally to dislodge the rabbits from their holes, with wild African cats that had their mouths muzzled ; but afterwards employed the ferret in the sport <sup>25</sup>. And, when the Romans introduced the rabbit into Italy and Britain, they brought in the same

Sect. II. custom of attacking it with ferrets<sup>25</sup>. The principal reason for their introduction of the former into both, was the great pleasure which they took in un-earthing it with the latter<sup>25</sup>. And the Britons adopted what the Romans practised ; and have transmitted to us, their successors of the present days, the Roman-Spanish diversion, and the Roman-Spanish name of the animal employed in it ; denominating the Viverra in the Welsh dialect Guivær, and in the Irish Firead or Ferret.

Cock-fighting is a recreation, which has been universally supposed to be the production of the British genius. But it was known to many of the antients, and introduced among us by the Romans. In the first century, a grand cocking was held every year in the city of Pergamus, cocks (according to the historian's expression) being there matched as gladiators and exhibited as a spectacle<sup>26</sup>. Matches were very common with the Greeks, and not unfrequent with the Romans, in the third<sup>27</sup>. And they even laid considerable wagers on the issue of their battles<sup>28</sup>. The cocks that were produced in the island of Rhodes, about Tanagra in Bœotia, at Chalcis in Eubœa, and in the kingdom of Media, were superiour in reputation to all others for their spirit and resolution in the fight<sup>29</sup>. And the uncommon bravery therefore, which has always distinguished our British breed, would soon induce the Romans, fond as they were of barbarous diversions, to train them up for the pit, to direct their courage against their brethren, and arm them with artificial spurs. These sorts of exhibitions were less cruel in their na-

nature,

ture, than their execrable shews of gladiators; and nearly Sect. II.  
the same in the scale of humanity, with their baitings P. 345.  
of the wolf, the bull, the bear, and the boar. And,  
as more than one of the cities in Britain built a  
large amphitheater for the latter, so others of them  
would naturally erect a small one for the former. One  
at least seems to have been constructed for it. And  
that is the little circle of gravel and sand, the carcase  
of a castrenian amphitheater, as Dr. Stukeley calls it;  
which tradition points out as something remarkable,  
and which lies remarkably placed upon an eminence,  
directly fronting the eye as we go from Sandwich to  
Richborough Castle, and looking down upon a marshy  
level at present. Evidently too small to have been de-  
signed for the greater exhibitions, it was most probably  
intended for the lesser. And, considered either solely  
by itself or comparatively with the similar constructions,  
it cannot, I think, have been any thing but a Roman  
cockpit. It never was half so large as the amphitheaters  
of Silchester and Dorchester, though these towns were  
merely the capitals of single tribes and stipendiary, and  
Rutupæ was the metropolis of Britannia Prima, and  
a colony. The pits of the latter, as I have remarked  
before, are almost two hundred yards in circumference.  
And that of the former seems to the eye to be only  
about sixty or seventy in the sweep<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo p. 305.—Richard p. 32, and Ptolemy, and  
b. I. ch. xii. f. 2.—<sup>2</sup> Richard p. 26.—<sup>3</sup> Richard p. 18.  
This wood, denominated Andred, was many ages after-  
wards

Sect. II. wards a hundred and twenty miles in length and thirty in breadth, commencing from the western boundary of Kent, and running directly east. See Saxon Chronicle A. D. 893, and Richard p. 18. Anterida.—  
<sup>4</sup> Phil. Trans. N° 227 (2), Leigh's Lancashire b. I. p. 62, and Ware's Antiquities, Harris's edit., p. 168.—  
<sup>5</sup> Pliny lib. viii. c. 34, Phil. Trans. N° 368 (1), and Smith's Cork vol. I. p. 139.—<sup>6</sup> Lhuyd under the word. And since the first edition I find that, in an Irish-English Dictionary published at Paris 1768, Segh is accordingly interpreted both an oxe and a hind of the moose-fort.

P. 346. —The horn also of a rain-deer, said by Leigh in Nat. Hist. p. 84. b. iii. to be found under a Roman altar at Chester, was most probably that of a moose.—<sup>7</sup> The passage has been entirely overlooked by all our writers. It is very curious and runs thus, *Cervos præ nimiā pinguedine mindū fugere prævalentes, quantoque minores sunt corporis quantitate, præcellentius efferuntur capitis & cornuum dignitate* (Giraldus's Top. Hib. p. 709).— And Bede, accordingly, in his very brief description of Ireland, particularly mentions its deer as one of its most distinguishing peculiarities : *cervorum caparumque venatu insignis* (lib. i. c. 1).—<sup>8</sup> Stanyhurst's Desc. of Ireland in Hollingshead's Chron. p. 19, and Leſlæi Hist. p. 13. — Ossian p. 4 and 81 vol. I, and p. 110 vol. II; Pennant's Tour in Scotland p. 127 and 275; and Harris's Ware p. 166—167. —This dog was once assuredly common to the whole island, and seems from the following passage to have been so within these two or three centuries. “The fifth” (says Harrison, enumerating our dogs) “is a greyhound, “cherished

"cherished for its *strength*, *swiftness*, and *stature*, com- Sect. II.

"mended by Bratius in his *De Venatione*, and not unre-

"membered by Hercules Stroza in a like treatise, but

"above all the others of Britain, where he saith, *Et*

"*magnâ spectandi mole Britanni.*" See D. of B. in Holl-

lingshead p. 230, 1586.—<sup>9</sup> Camden c. 1279 and 1312

wolves are said to remain in Ireland at present. But it

is a mistake: see Ware's *Antiq.* p. 165. and Smith's

Kerry p. 173. The last wolf was killed in 1709.—

<sup>10</sup> Pegge's *Coins* 2—1. And on a Roman altar disco-

vered near Stanhope in the bishoprick of Durham,

1748, was this signal inscription, *Silvano invicto sacrum*

..... . . ob Aprum eximiæ formæ captum quem

multi anteceſſores ejus prædari non potuerunt . . . . .

.... Phil. *Transf.* v. XLV. p. 173. — <sup>11</sup> Claudian

de Laud. *Stil. lib. v.* &c. — <sup>12</sup> Boetii *Scot. Reg. Desc.*

fol. 6. and *Leſlæi Hist.* p. 18. — And hence is

the popular story of the fierce wild cow of Dunſmore in Warwickshire, slain by Guy earl of Warwick.

—<sup>13</sup> Claudian de Laud. *Stil. lib. v.* and Martial de

Speſt. E. 7. — <sup>14</sup> Egbricht's *Penitentiale* drawn up

about 750, p. 138, vol. I. *Concilia Mag. Brit. &c.*

Wilkins, and p. 777. Gale's *Scriptores from Doomsday.*

— In Ray's *Synopsis Method. Quadr.*, 1693, Mr.

Lhuyd acquaints us, that in ſome antient laws and

customs of the Welsh, now preserved in MS. among

them, there was one among other maxims of hunt-

ing, *summam ſeu præcipua æftimationis ferinam effe*

*urſi, leporis, & apri;* p. 214. And bears appear in

Normandy and Scotland nearly to the conquest of

England: ſee *Gemeticensis* p. 667, Camden, and

Sect. II. Pennant's Tour p. 169.—<sup>15</sup> Pliny lib. viii. c. 36, and Camden p. 701.—<sup>16</sup> Ray's Synopsis p. 214.—See Itin. Cur. p. 155 and 170, and Phil. Trans. 1748 p. 603.—<sup>17</sup> Ossian vol. I. p. 115.—<sup>18</sup> Lib. x. c. 8.—<sup>19</sup> Martial lib. xiv. E. 216. See also Oppian's Cynegeticks lib. i.—<sup>20</sup> Pliny lib. x. c. 8.—<sup>21</sup> Tete, ac si, *bridulo canum lapsu aerem validè secantem, sæuosque rapidi harpagones accipitris sinuosis flexibus vitantem,—rapuisti columbam* (p. 20. Gale).—<sup>22</sup> In Maximâ Bibliothecâ Patrum tom. xiii. p. 85. Ep. 40. of Boniface, Ethelbert, king of Kent in the days of Ethelbald his brother king of England, desires Boniface archbishop of Mentz to send him a brace of falcons, that were bold and taught enough to fly at cranes and bring them to the ground, as there were very few such in Kent. And in Malmesbury f. 27 we see Athelstan requiring of the Welsh, Volucres quæ aliarum avium prædam per inane venari noscerent.—See a further account of hawking in Spelman's Glossary (Acceptor), who was ignorant of its true original. And see Howel Dha's Laws lib. i. c. 15. &c., where hawking appears to have been a favourite amusement among the Britons of Wales in the tenth century; and Birt's Letters on the Highlanders v. II. p. 199, and Pennant's Tour p. 127, for its being so now among those of Caledonia.—<sup>23</sup> Dio p. 1006.—<sup>24</sup> Batteley's Antiq. Rutup. p. 84. See also Dio p. 1010.—<sup>25</sup> Strabo p. 214, and Pliny lib. viii. c. 55.—<sup>26</sup> Pliny lib. x. c. 21.—<sup>27</sup> Columella (Gesner) p. 634 and 635. And Herodian has observed, that the two sons of the Emperor Severus quarrelled about their cock-fights, δι—αλεκτρουνας συμβολας, l. iii. c. 33.—<sup>28</sup> Rixosarum avium lanistæ,

lanistæ, cuius plerumque totum patrimonium, pignus <sup>Sect. II.</sup> aleæ, vixit gallinaceus putes abstulit (Columella p. 635).—<sup>29</sup> Pliny lib. x. c. 21. and Columella p. 634 and 635.—<sup>30</sup> See Itin. Cur. p. 119 and 156.

## III.

THE aspect of Lancashire, at this period, exhibited nearly the same sylvan appearance as the general face of the island. It was in most places tufted with woods. And it was in many overspread with forests. The six woods, that originally encircled the six fortresses of the primæval Britons, now spread at a greater distance about the regular towns which had been constructed near them. And the southern division of the county contained no less than five or six considerable forests within it. Those of Pendle, Rossendale, and Blackburne filled up nearly the whole of Blackburne hundred, spread over the now ragged sides of those moors, capped the now naked crests of those hills, and softened the dreary aspect of both<sup>1</sup>. The forest of Horwich possessed all the north-westerly region of Salford hundred, extended probably into the limits of Layland, and was as late as the fourteenth century no less than sixteen miles in circumference<sup>2</sup>. And that of Derbyshire was so denominated, because it ranged over a very large portion of Derby hundred; shooting out, even in the middle of the thirteenth century, from Sankey-water on the east to Bickerstaff and Aughton

on

Sect. III. on the north, the river Alt on the west, and the Mersey on the south<sup>3</sup>.

P. 348. The less extended forest, in the center of which the British Mancenion and Roman-British Mancunium were erected, was still distinguished by its primitive appellation of Ardven, Arden, or great wood. This title was naturally given it by the first settlers in the vicinity of the parish. And it was as naturally retained by the succeeding generations of their descendants. The name, like many of the same nature in the kingdom, and like the denominations of most of the more remarkable objects within it, the rivers, the forests, and the towns, continued equally the same through the revolutions of the Saxon, Danish, and Norman settlements among us. And it appears upon the face of our records, even in the reign of Edward the First, as the name of a considerable district in the parish; the boundaries of the present Clayton being described as beginning from HARDENE, passing along the margin of Droylsden, edging closely to the ground of Sinderland, and terminating at the demesne-lands of HARDENE again<sup>4</sup>.

This forest had now gradually receded on every side of Manchester, and given up its nearer ground to the dominion of the spade and the plough. But it must still have curved about the town in a large amphitheater of woods, and maintained its hereditary possessions over the greatest part of the parish. And it covered all the hills of Broughton and Blakeley. The former township I have previously intimated, and shall hereafter shew, to have been all one forest to the time of the Conquest<sup>5</sup>. And the name of the latter is derived from

from its great thickets at the period of the Saxon estab- Sect. III.  
lishment among us. The Saxon Blac, Black, or Blake  
frequently imports the deep gloom of trees. Hence we  
have so many places distinguished by this epithet in Eng-  
land, where no circumstances of soil and no peculiarities  
of water gave occasion to it; as the villages of Black-  
burne and Blackrode in Lancashire, Blakeley-hurst near  
Wigan, and our own Blakeley near Manchester<sup>1</sup>. And P. 349.  
the woods of the last were even seven miles in circuit,  
as late as the fourteenth century<sup>2</sup>. On the eastern  
side of the parish, the same Arden remained many  
ages afterward in the groves of Collyhurst and Nut-  
hurst and the thicket of Bradford; the last being, even  
in the reign of Edward the Second, no less than a  
mile in circumference<sup>3</sup>. And on the south it pecu-  
liarly retained the name of Arden for ages, as I have  
previously shewn; and was latterly broken into the  
thickets that gave denomination to Openshaw, Black-  
brook, and Blackstakes, into Ashton-hurst and Heaton-  
wood, and the large grove that winded along the bank  
of the Mersey, and imparted the name of Hard-ey or  
Hardy to a range of meadows upon it<sup>4</sup>.

Thus was the parish of Manchester overspread at this  
period with woods. And no parts of it seem to have  
been free from the trees, but the cultivated area and  
the moffes. The latter were that of Failsworth, and  
others. This existed in the earliest period of the Ro-  
man residence among us, as the road to Cambodunum  
pushes directly across the breadth of it. And some more  
must have existed with it. The same physical principles,  
that generated the moss of Failsworth, would equally  
produce

Sect. III. produce others in the parish. And all of them, in the just estimate of reason, must be presumed to have been equally prior with that to the settlement of the Romans at Manchester, except any of them can bring proof to the contrary. But only one of them can, which will be mentioned in a future volume. No traces of the plow, the ridge and the furrow, have been discovered in any; as have plainly been in one of the Yorkshire and many of the Irish mosses<sup>9</sup>. And, in some of the P. 350. latter, have been found even the burnt stump of a large tree, and the remains of a wattled hedge; the latter still standing upon the ground under a depth of five or six feet, and the cinders and ashes still lying on the former at that of ten<sup>10</sup>. Nothing has been discovered in any but one of our mosses, that even distantly bespoke the previous residence of the Romans among us. And that of Trafford has been lately channelled from end to end by the Bridgewater canal; all are continually cut into for their turf, and have been for ages encroached upon by the plough; and nearly the whole compass of Houghs, and absolutely the whole of Failsworth, mosses have been recently converted into cultivated lands.

The sand and loam of a wooded hollow sometimes received the waters of an obstructed brook, or drank in the showers of the winter, till the soil became soft and spongy, and the trees were unable to support themselves upon it. And sometimes the trees were thrown or cut down, as many in our Manchester mosses appear to have been actually cut, and originally obstructed the passage of the waters. Thus that particular region of Failsworth moss which was traversed by the Roman road,

road, and was evidently the boggiest part of it, being Sect. III. now reduced nearer to the original level of the ground, has a considerable descent to it on either side. And the highest part of Chatmoss about two centuries ago, upon an extraordinary discharge of the waters, appeared to be a valley traversed by a brook ". Every drain for the moisture being thus choked up, and the place constantly supplied with a recruit of it, the principles of putrid vegetation would begin to act, and a rank harvest overspread the face of the whole. This dying every year, and being every year succeeded by a fresh crop, a coat would gradually rise upon the surface, and in a century form a considerable crust. This P. 351. is found upon our mosses two, three, or four yards in thickness. And, as the great body of stagnated water was fed with supplies from the original current, additional influxes, or both, the morass would extend itself, desert the natural or artificial hollow in which it was originally formed, and creep over the neighbouring lands. Thus the waste of Chatmoss began at first in the cavity of a little valley, and afterwards usurped upon the loftier grounds about it; a large portion of it now lying higher than many parts of the neighbouring country, and the center being higher than the rest. And, in these efforts, the imprisoned waters have sometimes so violently distended the coat, that the texture of it has been broken, the country has been deluged with an inky torrent, and the fields overspread with a destructive slime. Thus our own Hough's moss, or, as in peculiar eminence it was denominated among us, the moss, burst on New-year's-day in 1633, spread a

Sect. III. deep bed of filth over the lands, and poisoned all the fish in the rivulets <sup>12</sup>. And, upon any long continuance of rain at present, the crust of Chatmoss is visibly lifted up by the waters, and even rises so considerably as to intercept some prospects across it.

Nor is the firmer ground of our black moors any thing else in reality, than such an extent of mossy soil discharged of its waters. This has been dried by the accidental diversion or emission of the feeding rill, or had all its moisture exhausted by the luxuriant harvest above. And on Walkden and Kearsley moors have been found innumerable trees, firs, birches, quickens, and oaks, buried in the foreign soil; and, directly under it and even four yards below the surface, a lank grass has been discovered in plenty, lying upon the natural mold.

These active principles would necessarily operate with more or less vigour from the beginning. But they must have acted with the greatest, during the wood-

P. 352. land- and solitary condition of the parish, before the coming of the Romans into it. And no other period of its history could have given them half such scope and liberty. The woods were not a little contracted in their size; a town had been long fixed in the center of them, and the rest of our Arden was frequently traversed by the inhabitants, their flocks, and their herds, at the period of the Saxon ravages in Lancashire. And the woods were more contracted, the town that had been fixed in the center was more populous, and the remains of our Arden were much more frequently traversed, at the later period of the Danish devastations among us.

Such was the aspect of our more immediate precincts, Sect. III. during the period of the Roman residence at Manchester; the softer soil of many of our vallies being converted into impassable morasses, and the firmer of the hill and plain generally covered with woods. And, in these or the neighbouring thickets of the county, was bred nearly all that variety of wild beasts which I have shewn to be natives of Britain, the segh-deer, the wolf, the bull, and the boar. The large branching horns of the segh have been oftener found in this, than any other county of the kingdom. One of them was dug up about seventy years ago at Larbrick near Preston, having the entire head of the stag, and even the bones of the neck, adhering to it. A still larger was found equally with the head, a few years before in a moss at Meales. And a third was fished out of the sea in 1727 near Cartmel <sup>13</sup>. The wolf was once very common in Northumberland, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire; has given the appellation of Wulf-crags to a long range of precipices in our forest of Wiersdale; and half a century before the Conquest was frequent in that of Rossendale <sup>14</sup>. The wild bull had its residence in our Mancunian Arden; and even continued in one part of it, the thickets of Blakeley, as late as the fourteenth century <sup>15</sup>. And the boar roved at liberty over the woods of the parish, for many centuries after the Roman de-<sup>p. 353.</sup> parture from the station; consigned the appellation of Barlow or the Boar-ground to a district in the south-westerly parts of it, and retained its haunts in the wilds of Blakeley within these three or four ages <sup>16</sup>.

Sect. III. —<sup>1</sup> Monasticon v. i. p. 658, and copy of Records in the British Museum N° 2063, Harleian MS. p. 176.  
 —<sup>2</sup> Kuerden, folio, p. 278, and Spelman in Leuca from Ingulphus.—<sup>3</sup> Kuerden, folio, p. 238.—<sup>4</sup> A record in Collins's Peerage vol. vii. edit. 2d. p. 24.—  
 —<sup>5</sup> See b. iii. hereafter.—And see a mistake in Camden p. 616. concerning the etymology of Blackburne. The river there has no more title than the Thames to the appellation of Black because of its waters.—<sup>6</sup> Kuerden, folio, p. 278.—<sup>7</sup> Ibid.—<sup>8</sup> Records ibid.—<sup>9</sup> Camden c. 850. and Mortimer's Husbandry Part II. p. 27.—<sup>10</sup> Nat. Hist. of Ireland by several hands, 1726, p. 163, and O Halloran's Introduct. to the Hist. and Ant. of Ireland, quarto, 1772, p. 134. And burnt wood has been taken with fir-cones out of the Yorkshire moffes, those near Leeds; Thoresby p. 142.—<sup>11</sup> Camden p. 611. and Leland vol. vii. p. 41. The words of the latter are very remarkable: In the very tope of Chawmoure [called before Chateley More] where the mosse was the highest and brake, is now a fayre playn valley as was in tymes past, and a rill rennith in it, and peces of smaull trees be found in the botome of it.—<sup>12</sup> H's MS. p. 26. And Leland thus of Chatmoss: Chateley More a 6. myles in lengthe some way brast within a mile of Morley Haul, and destroyed moche grownd with mosse ther aboute, and destroyed moche freshe watar fishe thereaboute; first corruptyng with stinkyng watar Glasbroke, and so Glasbroke carried stinkyng watar, and Mersey corruptyd carried the roulyng mosse, parte to the shores of Wals, parte of [to] the Isle of Man,

Man, and some into Ireland (vol. vii. p. 41.)—<sup>13</sup> Leigh Sect. III.  
b. i. p. 62 and 63. and b. iii. p. 184 and the plate,  
and Phil. Trans. 1731 and 1732. p. 257.—The horns  
dug up at Larbrick were forty and forty-one inches and  
a half in length, were seven or eight round, twenty-  
three and a half distant from each other at the tips, but  
thirty-five about the middle, and had several branches  
shooting out in different directions from them (see the  
plate Tab. 5th in Leigh). And the horns found at  
Meales were even as large again (ibid. B. iii. p. 184).  
The brow-antlers in the latter were bigger than usually  
the arm of a man is, the beams were near two yards in  
height, and betwixt the two opposite tips of the horns,  
which was the farthest distance, were two yards like-  
wise (ibid. B. I. p. 63). The former were soft and  
pliable when they were taken out of the earth, but af-  
terwards grew hard and firm (ibid. B. i. p. 62).—  
<sup>14</sup> Sax. Chron. p. 113, Camden p. 58 and 420, and  
Monasticon p. 658. vol. i.—<sup>15</sup> Leland vol. vii. part I.  
p. 42. Hearne.—<sup>16</sup> Leland ibid.—

To take off the seeming strangeness, which the no-  
tices in this section concerning the Lancashire mosses  
may carry to some of my readers, it may be proper to ob-  
serve, That the same causes have operated in a still more  
extraordinary manner, where their instruments have  
been greater and their scope of action larger. Where  
the former have not been merely brooks, or the latter  
confine to small valleys; but when rivers have con-  
curred in the production, and the scene of operation  
has been the levels of our eastern coast; the effect has  
been much more astonishing, than any which I have

Sect. III. here recorded. On deepening Wisbech river in 1635, at eight feet below the channel the workmen came to another, and found no less than seven boats in different parts of it. And, at Salters Lode, the adventitious earth was observed about 1660 to be ten feet deep, over a firm moorish soil of three in thickness; to be succeeded by a bluish sort of earth, which was judged to be original silt, and by another layer of moorish soil below it, as thick as the former, but much firmer and clearer; and to be followed by a whitish clay, which appeared to be the natural ground. But, in digging through the moor at Whittlesea about the same time, at the depth of eight feet was found a perfect mold, and swaths of grass lay as they were mowed upon it. And, at Skyrbeck sluice near Boston, the labourers sunk sixteen feet, and then discovered even a smith's forge, furnished with all the requisite tools, horseshoes, and other implements of iron. See Dugdale's Hist. of Embanking, 1662, p. 178, &c.

## IV.

AS the modes of Roman civility prevailed among the Britons of Lancashire, more and more of their free villains would be induced to quit the barons in the remoter neighbourhood of Manchester, and settle with their brethren in the town. And, in the peculiar circumstances of the British states, the current of the Roman manners would necessarily increase in its power and expand in its course, as it rolled down the three centuries

centuries and a half of the Roman residence among them. The dimensions of Manchester must therefore have been enlarged, by an accession of inhabitants and an addition of buildings. And to the one original street, which extended along the road of the Romans, others would be gradually annexed, and shoot out on the east, the west, and the north. Six or seven years ago was discovered a pavement near the south-western extremity P. 355. of the site, extending more than two yards in breadth, and seeming to tend nearly parallel with the original street, the line of the road to Ribchester. And this would naturally communicate with it by a cross one. It actually communicated by no less than three. One was laid along the margin of the foss; and the remains of it, a narrow causey about three feet in breadth, have been recently dug up for several yards by the gardiner. Another was lately found along the northern hedge of the first great garden; and a third about an equal distance from both, remaining only about half a yard in width. And seven or eight years ago was discovered a fourth, situated almost as much to the east as the former was to the west of the principal street, and lying three yards in breadth and three quarters in depth. This commenced near the northern hedge of the Castle-field and in the middle of the private gardens; stretched obliquely across that and the neighbouring one, pointed less slanting across the lane, and carried a direction towards Aldporton Fold. And the three connecting streets, on the west of the Ribchester road, would in all probability be answered by as many on the east, and the town be modelled into a figure somewhat compact

Sect. IV. and squarish. The great body of the buildings, then,  
occupied only the space which is now taken up with  
one great and several little gardens, which is bounded  
by the high bank, the stationary fofs, Aldport-lane,  
and a large garden, and contains about seven acres and  
a half within it. And all this ground appears to be  
strikingly distinguished from that to the north of it,  
by the plainly factitious nature of its soil, and the dis-  
persed rubbish of antient buildings along it.

E. 356. In the intervals formed by the intersection of these  
streets, some vacant area would be assigned for the  
markets of the town. These were first introduced into  
Britain by the Romans. And they are therefore distin-  
guished by the Roman appellation of Margaeis and  
Marchats among the Irish and Armoricans. Market-  
places are expressly declared by Tacitus to have been  
originally laid out in the towns, which Agricola caused  
to be built in Britain <sup>1</sup>. And in the state of Lancashire  
under the Romans, when there were only eight within  
its ample dimensions, and these dispersed at a distance  
over the face of the county, every one of them would  
necessarily have a market, and Manchester become a  
market-town from the first moment of its commence-  
ment.

But the streets of it were all narrow. The first and  
original one being constructed along the margin of the  
Roman road, the breadth of the latter would be the  
width of the former. That I have previously mentioned  
to have been only about five yards. And the others  
would naturally not be laid of a greater, and probably  
not of an equal breadth. The streets even of Rome  
were

were very narrow in general; and, when Nero rebuilt <sup>Sept. IV.</sup> the city after the dreadful conflagration in 64, many of the Romans complained of his conduct, alledging them to be too much widened, and the heat of the sun indiscreetly let in upon them<sup>3</sup>. And those of Silchester have been measured by the tracks in the corn and the foundations on the sides, and appear to have been generally seven or eight yards only in breadth<sup>3</sup>. Such, therefore, were our own at Manchester: and the same inconvenient narrowness has continued in them nearly to the present century.

They were all paved, however. And the Romans, who frequently spread a coat of stones over the face of their roads, would not neglect to spread it where it was much more requisite, along the streets of their towns. The first and principal one must have been paved from the beginning, as the Roman road was, along the borders of which the buildings extended. And all the remnants of streets, that have been discovered within the area of the town, were regular courses of pavement.

Though the ways of Rome were so narrow, yet the buildings were remarkably lofty. They generally rose six, seven, or eight stories in height. They <sup>P. 357.</sup> were permitted by Augustus, even in his restraint upon the popular humour, to ascend no less than seventy feet. And they were allowed by Trajan, even in his greater restraint of it, to mount as high as sixty<sup>4</sup>. But the elevation of our houses at Manchester was much better proportioned to the width of our streets. And they were pretty certainly raised only a single story above the ground-floor, as such

Sect. IV. such was the model of our buildings for many centuries afterward.

Bricks were very probably made by the inhabitants of the antediluvian world, and were actually used in the first ages of their descendants<sup>5</sup>. The art, therefore, would be carried away by the several parties from Babel, upon the dispersion of the whole, into all the countries which they successively planted. And it accordingly appears to have been known to the earliest inhabitants of the east and west in general<sup>6</sup>; and probably was, though it does not appear, to the colonists of Britain in particular. It was to their brethren of Gaul. And our present appellation of Brick is derived to us from our British ancestors<sup>6</sup>. The Romans seem to have had a brick-kiln at every stationary town. Their clay is generally found to be well tempered and well kneaded, beautifully red, and compleatly burnt. And their bricks were about sixteen English inches and three quarters in length, and eleven and a quarter in breadth<sup>7</sup>. But the Romans of the first century never raised any structures of these materials, because they wildly supposed a party-wall, that was merely the length of their bricks in breadth, to be unequal to the support of a story<sup>8</sup>. The Mancunian houses, therefore, could not have been constructed of bricks. They were composed P. 357. of wood. Such universally were the buildings of the primitive Britons, as I have shewed before. And such remained the houses of the Mancunians, below the æra of the Restoration. Bricks as well as stones, however, would be used in the foundations of the structures and the funnels of the chimnies. And the latter are evidently

dently a Roman addition to the British buildings. The Sect. IV. round hole in the roof of the house, such as we see to this day in the cabins of the Irish and Scotch, still continued, and merely an opening in the ceiling, as the fire was still kindled in the middle of the hall<sup>9</sup>; but was elegantly altered into a cupola-chimney by the Romans<sup>10</sup>. This, however, would naturally be confined to the chiefs. And in these northern parts of England, and even in our neighbouring county of Chester, as late as the commencement of the last century, the common people had their fire in the midst of the house, and no chimney above to discharge the smoke<sup>11</sup>.

The covering of edifices in the north of Europe was generally made of long reeds, about the period of the erection of Manchester<sup>12</sup>. But the Romans seem to have introduced the use of straw for this purpose. And the buildings of the town were generally covered with it. Such was the roofing in London within these three centuries, and in Manchester within two. But some of the more respectable structures would probably be roofed with scindulæ, shingles, or boards. These are the common covering in all our American colonies. These were equally so amongst ourselves in former ages, and continued even in Edenborough beyond the beginning, and in most parts of Cheshire below the middle, of the last century<sup>13</sup>. And they were generally used even at Rome for the long period of nearly five ages<sup>14</sup>. But either these houses afterwards, or others at the same time, were probably covered with tegulae, the Saxon tægles, and the

Sect. IV. the Armorican teolen, or tiles ; which were first invented at Cyprus, were after the shingles the general roofing in Rome <sup>14</sup>, and appear sufficiently from their name to have been brought into Britain by the Romans.

P. 359. And there is also another kind of covering, which is now nearly universal in Manchester, and was first introduced into it about this period. This is that light-

coloured species of flaky stone, of which we have numerous quarries in England, and which we still denominate by its British appellation of Sglatta or slate. Pliny mentions it as a white stone, that was divided by the Celtæ more easily than wood, and sawed by them into thin plates for tiles <sup>15</sup>. It was first divided into plates and first applied as tiles within the northern regions of Gaul, was so used very commonly in the first century <sup>15</sup>, and still retains among the French its Celtaic denomination of Esclate or slate. And, as this use of it was introduced into Britain from Gaul, so is it found among us during the period of the Roman stay in the island. Some Roman buildings in Britain appear from the remains that have been discovered about them, to have been actually covered with slates. And they were fastened to the roofs with nails of iron, hooked, long, and large <sup>16</sup>.

The windows seem generally to have been composed of paper <sup>17</sup>. Properly prepared with oil, this forms no contemptible defence against the intrusions of the weather, and makes no incompetent opening for the admission of the light. It is still used by our architects for the temporary windows of unfinished houses, and not unfrequently in the precincts of Manchester for the re-

gular

gular ones of our workshops. And it is even used <sup>Sect. IV.</sup> for the houses in many of the towns of Italy, to the present moment. But some of the principal buildings we may reasonably suppose to have been windowed in a superior manner. None of them, however, were fitted with glass. None in Europe were formed of glass at this period. The Romans and Britons of it never once thought of this seemingly obvious, and certainly very agreeable, application of the metal. And that transparent fossil, Lapis Specularis or Ising-glass stone, which was first used in the windows at Rome about the reign of Augustus<sup>18</sup>, and became very common before the close of the first century<sup>19</sup>, was in all probability never introduced into the buildings of Britain. The superior windows of Manchester could be <sup>P. 360.</sup> furnished merely with lattices of wood or sheets of linen; as these two remained the only furniture even of our cathedrals, nearly to the eighth century<sup>20</sup>. And the lattices continued in some of our meaner towns of Lancashire to the eighteenth; and in many districts of Wales, and many of the adjoining parts of England, are in use even to the present moment<sup>21</sup>.

One or more wells would be sunk about the town, for the necessary supply of water to the inhabitants. And one has been discovered, placed immediately on the outside of it, and sunk for several yards in the rock. It was found about eight or nine years ago, upon the erection of the little alehouse which stands opposite to the gate of Castlefield. On opening the ground, an hole appeared in the rock about six feet square, and entirely filled up with rubbish. This was made so soft and sludgy by

Sect. IV. by the spring below, that a staff was easily thrust into it to the depth of four or five yards, and gave a temporary vent to the waters. And three coins of brass were found in it, and a piece of thick short gold-wire. The latter had not the good-fortune to meet with any man of taste, and was sold to an unknown person for thirteen shillings. And, of the former, two appeared to be lost when an inquiry was first made concerning them, and the third was in great measure ruined by the rust: No inscription could be perceived upon it, and even no traces of one discerned, except such as fancy will perpetually suggest to the judgment on the examination of faded remains. Wells so squared as this was in the opening, and lined with hewn stones at the sides as this with the native rock, have been discovered at Durnomagus or Caster near Peterborough, P. 361. at Procolitia or Carrabrough in Cumberland, and Derwentio or Little-chester near Derby <sup>22</sup>. And the water of this and the other wells were probably raised, either by the assistance of a pole playing upon a transverse beam and loaded with a weight at the handle, by a common wheel, or a little windmill. All these machines appear to have been early in use among the Romans <sup>23</sup>. And they seem to have been simple and obvious in their construction.

To mark the flight of time by external and sensible representations, and so distinguish the passing hours into regular periods and stages, was first the work of HIM who appointed the revolutions of the night and day, the returns of the Sabbath, the variations of the moon, the vicissitudes of the seafors, and the ~~courses~~ size

sun. But, to ascertain the uniform progress of the day <sup>Sept. IV.</sup> by the uniform motion of shades or substances, is an invention as curious in its nature as it was probably late in its discovery. And yet it was made before the days of Ahaz the monarch of Judæa<sup>24</sup>, and above two hundred years before the first inhabitation of Lancashire. This primitive dial seems to have been merely a diagram, which was described upon the steps of Ahaz's palace, and marked the advance of the day by the shade of some neighbouring body moving over the face of it. And the contrivance seems to have remained the only dial of the eastern nations for a couple of centuries afterward, and first received the addition of a gnomon from the hand of Anaximenes the Milesian at Sparta<sup>25</sup>. But the knowledge of this or the other was introduced very late into the west. The Romans distinguished the day only by its two natural periods of sun-rise and sun-set, even for some time after the promulgation of the twelve tables. And the first artificial division of it was by the obvious distinction of noon. This began a few years afterward, the crier of the consuls being ordered to proclaim the noon in their court, when he saw the sun appear betwixt two particular points of the forum. But the Græcian dial passed with the Græcian colonies into Sicily. And the earliest, that was seen at Rome, was brought from the conquered P. 362. Catana during the first Punick war, and fixed upon a pillar by the rostrum. This however was inaccurately made, the lines not answering with precision to the hours. But it remained the irregular standard of the Roman time, for no less than ninety-nine years. And within

Sect. IV. within five after it was reformed Scipio Nasica invented a horologe, which could be serviceable on the frequent occasions in which the other was useless; and marked the several stages of time as well under a cloudy as a sunny sky, and equally in the night as the day. This was a large vessel, that measured the course of the hours by the trickling of water, and was set up under cover by Scipio for the use of the publick <sup>26</sup>. But the Britons were as ignorant of both at the period of the Roman invasion, as the Romans at the commencement of the Punick wars. And the first of the latter, that was ever brought into the island, was introduced into it by Cæsar and his army in his two attempts upon the country <sup>27</sup>. Both were introduced into Britain by the Romans; and both were for ages the only registers of the day in Manchester. And the one has therefore received the appellation of Horarium or an Hour-glass, and the other the name of Diale, a Dial, or Day-piece, among us.

The town of Manchester contained within it the mansion of the baron, the dwellings of his immediately attendant villains, and the numerous houses of the artisans. For the many occupations, that had been pursued by the villains before in the neighbourhood of the parish, must have been equally followed by them now within the town. And the mechanical professions, that had been occasionally practised by single individuals about the houses of the chiefs, would now be appropriated to particular persons, and regularly followed as particular occupations. The brazier, the tinman, the glazier, the ironmonger, and others, artists all existing before the erection

erection of Manchester, must all have continued in it. Sext. IV.  
They were necessary to the mutual accommodation of P. 363.

the baron and the townsmen, and would therefore be settled in it with both. And the employments of the plumber, farrier, and turner, of the apothecary, barber, and the like, often exercised occasionally before by any of the chief's retainers, appear from the Roman appellations of the artists to have been now converted into distinct occupations. And the Romans added the rest, the mercer, fuller, tavern-keeper, and the like. The barber was entirely unknown at Rome for four hundred and fifty years, and was then first introduced by Ticinius Mæna from Sicily <sup>28</sup>. And the knowledge of medicinal herbs, and of their influence in medicinal applications, would naturally be cultivated in a military nation, and was greatly attended to in the British. Thus we see a Caledonian chief in the poems of Ossian, who "had searched for the herbs of the mountains, " and gathered them on the secret banks of their "streams;" and whose "hand had closed the wound " of the valiant." It is also declared of another, that "to close the wound was his, he had known the herbs " of the hills, and had seized their fair heads on high "as they waved by their secret streams." And an acquaintance with the virtues of simples, and a skill in the application of them to the body, were within these few years universal among the Britons of Scotland <sup>29</sup>. Nor was this all. Medicinal botany, originally the only branch of medicine, was even engrafted upon the stock of the Celtick religion; and the druids of the Gauls and Britons were at once their physicians

Sect. IV. and priests<sup>30</sup>. And the magick rites, which were practised with such a wild solemnity in our own island at this period, were merely the mixt effusions of medicine and superstition, each acting upon the other, and both heightening the whole. Magick, as Pliny has justly observed<sup>31</sup>, was nothing more in its origin than the daughter of Medicine; calling out the secret powers of nature in the vegetable creation, and yet concealing their agency under the mantle of religion. And we have three or four plants pointed out to us by the antiquits, that were peculiarly the favourites of the druids. One was what they denominated the Samol, and which has been very differently interpreted, as the botanical mind had no standard of determination; but was probably, as the L and the R are frequently interchanged, the Seamar or wild Trefoil, to which the Irish Britons pay a particular attention at present, wearing it in their hats on St. Patrick's day under the diminutive appellation of Seamrog. This was esteemed an excellent remedy for all the diseases of their droves and herds, if it was bruised, and then mingled with the water that the cattle drank. But, when it was gathered in the swamps where it grew, it was constantly plucked by the left hand alone; and the simpler was fasting, never looked back while he gathered it, and deposited it no-where till he put it into the watering-troughs<sup>32</sup>. Another was Vervain, by which the druids pretended to predict future events, and from which they really extracted an unguent, that (besides its power to conciliate friendships and procure the accomplishment of every wish) was thought to be efficacious in preventing fevers

fevers and curing every other disease. And it was <sup>Sect. IV.</sup> gathered about the commencement of dog-days and in a moonless night; the leaves, the stem, and the root were dried separately and in the shade; and an infusion of it in wine was prescribed for the bite of a serpent<sup>33</sup>. The Selago also, a kind of Savin, was esteemed a preservative against every calamity, and the smoke of it beneficial for any complaints in the eyes<sup>34</sup>. And the Mistletoe of the oak, which was then as rarely found upon that tree as it is at present, naturally became therefore a peculiar object of regard in a botanical system of religion; was thought, when it was taken in a draught, to give fruitfulness to barren animals, and to be an useful antidote to poisons; and was called by a Celtick appellation, that shews it to have been considered as an universal medicine<sup>35</sup>. Thus, out of four prescriptions that have been communicated to us from the Celtick pharmacy, the samol was thought a remedy for all the diseases in hogs and kine, the ver-vain was a cure for every disorder in man, and the mistletoe was denominated the All-healing Plant. And, in these first stages of her progresfs, Medicine would naturally be struck with astonishment at the virtues which disclosed themselves in plants; and, by the influence of her associates, Credulity and Superstition, be strongly tempted to carry her faith into extravagance, and attribute infallibility and universality to almost every remedy. Thus the vulgar mind, we see at present, is ready to receive every medicine that is obtruded upon it by the hand of quackery, as equally applicable in all the stages of a disorder, and certainly

Sect. IV. successful in all its operations. The mistletoe of the oak is to this day considered as a curiosity by our naturalists, and within a century and a half was reputed very medicinal by our physicians, and composed a regular part of the *Materia Medica* of our shops<sup>35</sup>. And the many prescriptions which remain traditional all over the kingdom, that either work as amulets on the fancy in agues and the like disorders, or apply the powers of plants to the bodies in diseases of a more fixed and inveterate nature, and are generally the only medicines of our peasants at any distance from Manchester, have been mostly derived, I apprehend, like those of the Highlanders mentioned above, from the botanical and medical notices of the Britons.

\* Agricola induced the new subjects of the empire (says Tacitus *Agric. Vit. c. 21.*) ut Templa, *Fora*, *Domas*, extruerent.—<sup>2</sup> Tacit. Ann. lib. xv. c. 43.—<sup>3</sup> Phil. Transl. vol. XLV. p. 603.—<sup>4</sup> Tacitus Ann. lib. xv. c. 4 and the Note in variorum edit.—<sup>5</sup> Genesis ch. xi. ver. 3.—<sup>6</sup> Exodus c. v. and Pliny lib. xxxv. c. 14; and Varro de Re Rust. lib. i. c. 14. Brick is Brike, plural Bricion, in Irish.—Mr. Macpherson, in p. 222. of his Introduction, asserts the Britons to have had bricks, on the pretended authority of Herodian lib. vii. But in this, as in five hundred passages besides, he has adopted that strange mode of reasoning which has been used by so many of our historical writers, of applying to the Britons every trait of character which occurs concerning the Germans, without attempting to prove them of the

the same blood and in the same circumstances, and <sup>Sect. V.</sup> when both were very different.—<sup>7</sup> Pliny lib. xxx. c. 14.

—<sup>8</sup> Ibid. —<sup>9</sup> Accenso foco in medio, et calido effectu coenaculo (in the year 629), Bede lib. ii. c. 13. See also lib. iii. c. 10. —<sup>10</sup> See Suetonius in Vitellio c. 8. for a Roman Caminus or chimney. And the British names for a chimney are all Roman to this day, as Shimæ in Welsh, Tshimbla in Cornish, Shimilan and Sheminal in Armorick, and Shimilean in Irish.—And p. <sup>364</sup>

see King's Vale Royal part I. p. 19.—<sup>11</sup> Pliny lib. xvi. c. 36.—<sup>12</sup>

Shingler is used in an antient statute as an appellation synonymous with Thatcher. So in 5 Eliz. sect. 30. *Tiler, Slater, or Helier, and Thatcher or Shingler.* And see King's Vale Royal pt. I. p. 19, for the use of shingles in Cheshire; and Maitland's Edinborough 1753, p. 62, for an order there in 1621, that, instead of *Straw, Deals, or Boards*, should be used slates, &c.—<sup>13</sup> Pliny lib. xvi. c. 10.—<sup>14</sup> Pliny lib. vii. c. 56. The Germans on the continent had no tiles; Ne—apud illos—tegularum usus (Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 16).—<sup>15</sup> Pliny lib. xxxvi. c. 22.—<sup>16</sup> Hearne's Stunsfield-pavement in Leland vol. VIII. p. 30. —

<sup>17</sup> Window is yet provincially denominated Windor in Lancashire &c., Wind-door, or the passage for air, as that for people was peculiarly called The Door. And the word is Welsh, Uynt Dor signifying the passage for the wind.—<sup>18</sup> Seneca Ep. 90.—<sup>19</sup> Pliny lib. xix. c. 5, and Martial lib. viii. E. 14.—<sup>20</sup> See b. II. ch.

viii. s. 3. —<sup>21</sup> These seem all to have been fixed in frames that were called Capsamenta, and now therefore Kaismeints in Wales and Lancashire; and to have been

Sect. IV. partitioned into squares, called Quadræ and Quadrellaæ, and therefore denominated Quarries all over the kingdom and Quarrels in Lancashire. And each window seems to have been named a Transenna, as ours in general at Manchester are called Transome-windows to this day, and in contra-distinction to sashes. Only we still pronounce the word in the British manner, changing the M into P, and calling it Transop.—<sup>22</sup> Moreton's Northamptonshire p. 511, Stukeley's Itin. p. 79, Horseley p. 145 and 146, and Stukeley's Itin. p. 51.—

<sup>23</sup> Pliny lib. xix. c. 4, E puteo perticâ [or, as the context requires and some copies read, rotâ] organisive neumaticis, vel tollenonum haustu. And see a tolle non described in Vegetius lib. iv. c. 21, and his, Aquarum haustus funibus extrahendi from deep wells, in l.

iv. c. 10.—<sup>24</sup> 2 Kings ch. xx. ver. 11.—<sup>25</sup> Pliny lib. ii. c. 76.—<sup>26</sup> Pliny lib. vii. c. 60.—<sup>27</sup> Cæsar. p. 89.—

<sup>28</sup> Pliny lib. vii. c. 59.—<sup>29</sup> Offian vol. I. p. 247, and vol. II. p. 148. and Note. And see Boetius Scot. Reg. Desc. fol. 12.—<sup>30</sup> Pliny lib. 30 c. 1, Druidas, hoc genus vatum medicorumque.—<sup>31</sup> Ibid.—<sup>32</sup> L. xxiv. c. 11.—<sup>33</sup> L. xxv. c. 9.—<sup>34</sup> L. xxiv. c. 11.—<sup>35</sup> L. xvi. c. 44, and Selden on Polyolbion p. 153.

## V.

P. 365. THE primitive Britons are charged by two of the most respectable historians among the Romans, with the gross barbarisms of a community of wives, incestuous loves, and unnatural mixtures<sup>1</sup>. And the accusation

is too surely as just, as it is scandalous<sup>2</sup>. A community of wives was the principal crime; and the incestuous and unnatural cohabitations were merely the result of that. The Britons formed themselves into a strange sort of matrimonial clubs, which generally comprehended ten or twelve families, and each husband had free access to each wife in it. And, as these associations would most naturally consist of the nearest relatives, brothers carried on an intercourse with their sisters-in-law, and daughters-in-law became the concubines of their fathers<sup>3</sup>. Nor was this, as at first it may seem to be, repugnant to the British principles of gavel-kind in private inheritances, and to the British modes of succession in publick. A particular provision was made, that the children of every wife should be reckoned for the progeny of the genuine husband<sup>4</sup>. Nor is it contradictory either to any particular notices in the Roman accounts, or the general tenour of the poems of Offian. In the former indeed, Boadicia is mentioned as the appropriated wife of Prasutagus, another person is spoken of as the peculiar consort of Caractacus, and Cartismandua is named as the particular spouse of Venutius<sup>5</sup>. But the marrier of the maid was always esteemed the husband of the wife<sup>6</sup>. And, though in Offian we see the principle of matrimonial fidelity considered with delicacy and observed with religion among the British wives, yet this is very compatible with the accounts of the Romans. That principle might consist in a fidelity, not to one but several, to all the individuals that were incorporated into the society. And an habitual and national association of

Sect. V.

Sect. V. ideas will soon render any grossnesses agreeable to delicacy, and any impurities compatible with religion.

The British females, after the introduction of spinning, so constantly employed at the distaff the many hours of leisure, which the want of literary amusements must have left particularly vacant in all ages; that the spindle became the symbol of the sex, and an estate devolving to the female line was formally said by the law to descend to the distaff<sup>8</sup>. And, thus engaged, the British virgin was declared marriageable at fourteen<sup>9</sup>.

P. 366. The lover regularly addressed himself first to the father of the maid, and requested his daughter in marriage. And, if he agreed to the overture, he opened "the hall of the maid", the apartment in which she generally sat retired from the men of the family, and introduced the suitor to his daughter<sup>10</sup>. The period of courtship among the British women appears to have been generally as short, as it was among the Patriarchal<sup>11</sup>. A few days concluded the suit. The absolute authority of the father took away all power of refusal from the daughter<sup>12</sup>. And, if she disliked the lover whom he recommended, she had no other resource than the tears of entreaty or the dangers of flight.

The British wife, like the modern, brought generally a portion or Argyfrey with her<sup>13</sup>. And the British husband, like the modern, as generally made a settlement or Egweddli upon her previous to the marriage<sup>14</sup>. This did not however, like that, supersede her rights incident on survivorship; and she was entitled, if there were no children, to the full half of

the inheritance, and to the same share as her

her husband's property <sup>14</sup>. And the proportion of this Sect. V.

Egweddi was not left, as it is among ourselves, to be determined by the indiscretion of the lover, the expectations of the lady, or the cunning of over-reaching relations. It was absolutely ascertained by the law, and was twenty-four pounds for a king's daughter, three for a noble's, and one for a villain's <sup>15</sup>. But this settlement differed essentially from the modern, and coincided exactly with the Saxon, in its import; as it took place upon the marriage, and the wife was immediately invested with the property <sup>16</sup>. And the rite of matrimony was celebrated by the father, in the short form of giving up the maid to the suitor <sup>17</sup>. But after this was another settlement, which was denominated Chowyll, and answered to the Morgen-gife of the Germans; being made the morning after the marriage, and actually before the couple arose from bed <sup>18</sup>. In such a situation, the man must have been in peculiar danger of acting indiscreetly with his fortune. And the law, which so strangely exposed him to it, was obliged in equity to protect him under it. It fixed the chowyll decisively at eight pounds for a P. 367. king's daughter, one for a noble's, and a hundred and twenty pence for a villain's <sup>19</sup>. And so ludicrously was the whole process adjusted by the law, that, if the bride did not gain the settlement before she arose, she had no title to it afterwards <sup>20</sup>. And, after she had gained it, if she did not equally declare before she rose the particular use to which she intended to apply it, the husband enjoyed it afterwards in common with her <sup>21</sup>.

Sect. V. The husband was entitled either corporally to chastise his wife, or to require a legal satisfaction from her, for three crimes, infidelity to his bed, embezzling his goods, or abusing his beard <sup>22</sup>. And either of the parties, as was equally the custom among the Jews, might require a divorce from the other <sup>23</sup>. The itch or a foul breath were legally reckoned as good reasons for it, as impotence <sup>24</sup>. And it was sufficiently ratified by a mutual agreement in private. Thus Cartismandua, the queen of the Brigantes, divorced herself from her husband Venutius, the monarch of the Jugantes <sup>25</sup>. Deugala, the wife of a Briton in Ireland, demanded and obtained an immediate separation from her husband Cairbar <sup>26</sup>. And some of the wilder Irish retained the custom, in part, within these two or three centuries <sup>26</sup>. The whole substance of the family was regularly divided betwixt the parties; and, though two thirds of the children were consigned to the husband, one half only of the property was retained by him, the other being carried away by the wife <sup>27</sup>. And, by a very sensible prescription of the law, the parties were not restrained, as even in cases of adultery they ordinarily are among ourselves, from an engagement in a second marriage <sup>28</sup>. But, at least after the introduction of Christianity, if the bride was accused of any previous incontinence, and could not clear herself by compurgation, her shift was torn up before and behind, and she was dismissed by the husband; he putting previously into her hands the soaped tail of a young heifer, and, if she could retain it by her hold, allowing her to keep it for her portion <sup>29</sup>. And, at least after

the

the same introduction, adultery was punished with very great severity ; the wife losing all her Egwedi as well all her Argyfrey for the act, and even forfeiting the former for merely allowing a man to salute her <sup>Sect. V.</sup> <sup>30</sup>.

When the wife was advanced in her pregnancy, she was bound about with a sanctified girdle, which was supposed to alleviate the pains and expedite the birth. Such are particularly mentioned in a passage of the British poems, in which a hundred of them are promised by a chief, as useful “to bind high-bosomed women,” and as the “friends of the birth of heroes.” And they have been preserved in many families of the Highlanders, nearly to the present period <sup>31</sup>.

The mode of interment among the Britons and Gauls was, either by consigning the remains entire and undefaced to the ground, or by previously reducing them to ashes <sup>32</sup>. The former is the most natural and obvious, and must therefore have been the original, form of sepulture in the world <sup>33</sup>. The latter is evidently a refinement upon it, introduced at first in all probability to prevent any accidental indignities or deliberate outrages on the venerable remains of the dead. And this became frequent among the Britons, as the ashes that have been discovered in the sepulchers on Salisbury plain abundantly testify <sup>34</sup>. But the primitive rite of burial was still generally retained in the island. In this manner, pretty certainly, was the illustrious Boadicia magnificently interred <sup>35</sup>. In this, undoubtedly, were all the heroes of Ossian buried <sup>36</sup>. And under both forms the body was either reposed in a cavity or laid upon the surface of the ground,

Sect. V. ground, and a barrow was constructed over it. Such are all the British burying-places on the downs of Wiltshire, the moors of Cornwall, and the plains of Ireland <sup>37</sup>. And such was the grave of Offian's Lamdarg in particular, which composed a considerable knoll on the P. 369. margin of the Irish shore <sup>38</sup>. These were sometimes made of the common foil about them; and sometimes of three or four slabs, set upon an edge and closed with another above, containing a cavity for the body, and covered with heaps of little stones. And, of the former species, are all that have been opened upon Salisbury plain <sup>39</sup>. But the latter appears to have been far the commonest among us, and is found very frequently in Britain, Scotland, and Ireland. This model of a barrow seems to have been very antiently used among the provincials <sup>40</sup>. And it continued very late among them. It survived the introduction of Christianity, and remained beyond the departure of the Romans. Many Roman coins have been discovered in one of these stone-barrows among the Cornish <sup>41</sup>. The Bedn Guortigern or grave of Vortigern, in the mountains of Caernarvonshire, was a Carnedd or large collection of small stones, covering a Kist-vaen, a stony inclosure or chest, and protecting the body of the king in it <sup>42</sup>. Even the century after Vortigern, a person dying in the presence of the celebrated saint, Columba, and in the isle of Sky, it is expressly related that he was buried in this manner; Socii congesto lapidum acervo sepelierunt <sup>43</sup>. And the practice is retained in part among all the remains of the provincial and extra-provincial Britons to this day. When a

wretch

wretch dies by the act of suicide in Ireland, and is buried, as in England, at the intersection of two highways ; or when the greatest of criminals suffer the sentence of the law either in Ireland, Wales, or Scotland, and are interred under the gallows ; the passengers for some time afterwards have a custom of throwing stones upon their graves, till they have raised a considerable heap over them. And a proverbial sort of curse prevails both in Wales and Ireland, of wishing an enemy what Hector wishes Paris, to have a Cairn over him, or (in the language of Homer<sup>a</sup>) to be clad in a coat of stone<sup>44</sup>. But the original custom is still more perfectly preserved in Scotland. If a person there suddenly falls down dead, or loses his life by any accident in his journey, whether the fact happens on a road or in the field, a rude heap of stones is immediately thrown together upon the spot by the first who discovers the corpse ; and the common people contribute to increase the pile, by adding each of them a stone to it. And there are some persons so religiously scrupulous in this respect, that they will turn out of their way for a quarter of a mile, in order to fetch a stone for the purpose ; as the neglect, they apprehend, will be punished by some subsequent misfortune to them<sup>45</sup>.

In these barrows it was the practice of the Gauls and Britons to bury many particulars with the body, which the deceased regarded in his life<sup>46</sup>. Hence, in the grave of a young British woman upon the plains of Sarsum, were found some years ago beads of amber, glo-

<sup>a</sup> Λαίρος επειο χίλια, κακων επειχ' οσσα τοξας. Iliad. lib. iii.

Sect. V. bules of glas, and the head of a spear, the ornaments of the girl and the weapon of the heroine <sup>47</sup>. Hence the warriours in Ossian so frequently order their bow and fword, the horn of their hunting, and a boſs of their shield, to be laid with them at their death “ in the “ dark and narrow house of the grave” <sup>48</sup>. And the broken remains of swords, some half-melted by the funeral fire, have frequently been found in the barrows of the British warriours in Cornwall <sup>49</sup>. This practice, resulting from a just but wildly devious belief in the immortality of the soul <sup>50</sup>, was carried to so great a length, that favourite animals were slain in honour of the deceased, and their remains buried in the same grave with them. The custom was observed universally in Gaul to the days of Cæsar <sup>51</sup>. And it was practised occasionally P. 370. in Britain, ſome few of our barrows disclosing these diſtinguiſhable remains, and the poems of Oſſian preſenting us with an instance of the fact. The burnt bones of horses, dogs, and other animals have been found mingled with human in the Wiltshire ſepulchers. And Luath, the dog of Cuchullin in the north of Ireland, was actually interred with his master in the third century <sup>52</sup>.

Thus formed, these barrows have been generally preſerved inviolate to our own times, by the reſpect which the religious principles of the Britons beſtowed upon them. And of this we have very lively traces remaining among the Highlanders at preſent. They are firmly perſuaded to this moment, that if a dead body ſhall be known to lie unburied, or to be removed from its ſepulcher either by malice or accident, and immediate

care is not taken for the interment of it ; storms and tempests will arise to destroy their corn, overturn their cabins, and carry desolation through the country <sup>53</sup>. And the late construction of the military roads in Scotland afforded a remarkable proof of the notion. As the way which runs from Crieff northward was carried on through Glenalmond, an enormous stone was removed that crossed the intended line of it, and a British sepulcher found below, containing ashes, fragments of bones, and half-burnt stalks of heath. And, as soon as it was known to the Highlanders of the country, they assembled in arms even from distant parts of it, and formed themselves in a body ; carefully collected the relicks, marched with them in a solemn procession to a new place of burial, and there paid the military honours to the deceased by discharging their musquets over his grave <sup>54</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar p. 89. and Dio p. 1007. In p. 1002 and the speech of Boadicia the children are said to be equally in common with their mothers. But this is certainly false (Cæsar p. 89).—<sup>2</sup> Mr. Rowland, Mr. Carte, and Dr. Macpherson (and from them Dr. Henry in his Hist. of G. Britain vol. I. 1771, p. 445) have endeavoured to vindicate the Britons, Mona p. 246, History p. 71, and Crit. Diff. p. 140; and all equally in vain. Their argument is, that, all the members of a family sleeping (as I have shewed before) in one apartment together, they were therefore supposed by foreigners to have a promiscuous copulation. But, to make the apology

Sect. V. correspondent to the charge, it should have been shewn, not merely that one family, but that ten or twelve, thus slept together. —<sup>3</sup> Cæsar p. 89, Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes, et maximè fratres cum fratribus et parentes cum liberis. —<sup>4</sup> Cæsar p. 89. —<sup>5</sup> Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 31. and lib. xii. c. 36, 37, and 40. —<sup>6</sup> Cæsar p. 89. —<sup>7</sup> Howel Dha lib. II. c. xv. a. 5. —<sup>8</sup> Lib. II. c. i. a. 93. —<sup>9</sup> Ossian vol. I. p. 50. and 115. —<sup>10</sup> Ibid. and Gen. c. xxiv. —<sup>11</sup> Cæsar p. 121 for the Gauls. —<sup>12</sup> Lib. II. c. i. a. 48. And see Cæsar p. 121 for the portion of the Gallick women. —<sup>13</sup> Lib. II. c. i. a. 89. —<sup>14</sup> Lib. II. c. i. a. 13. and c. xxvii. a. 16. —<sup>15</sup> P. 300. —<sup>16</sup> Lib. II. c. i. a. 40. and lib. II. c. i. a. 73. —<sup>17</sup> Ossian p. 50 and 77. vol. I. —<sup>18</sup> Lib. II. c. i. a. 37. and Hickes's Pref. to Thesaurus p. 9. —<sup>19</sup> Howel p. 300. —<sup>20</sup> Lib. II. c. i. a. 74. —<sup>21</sup> Lib. II. c. i. a. 75. —<sup>22</sup> Lib. IV. c. 5. —<sup>23</sup> Ossian vol. i. p. 31. and Howel lib. ii. c. 1. —<sup>24</sup> Lib. II. c. i. a. 12. —<sup>25</sup> Tacitus Ann. lib. XII. c. 40. This she did by her own authority only, without even requiring the consent of her husband, which was necessary. And therefore Tacitus calls it a flagitious act, Hist. lib. III. c. 45. —<sup>26</sup> Ossian vol. i. p. 31, Stanyhurst's Def. of Ireland in Hollingshead, p. 45, and Davies p. 126. —<sup>27</sup> Ossian vol. I. p. 31. and Howel lib. ii. c. 1. a. 3 and 5. —<sup>28</sup> Lib. II. c. i. a. 6, 11, and 16. —<sup>29</sup> Lib. II. c. i. a. 42. This is somewhat similar to the custom so well known in one or two manours of the kingdom, by which a widow, that had forfeited her copyhold by incontinence, was restored to it on coming into court mounted upon a black ram, holding the tail in her hand, and professing

fessing penitence.—<sup>30</sup> Lib. II. c. i. a. 36 and 35.—<sup>31</sup> Offian vol. I. p. 115.—<sup>32</sup> Mela for the Gauls lib. III.

c. 2.—<sup>33</sup> See also Gen. c. xxiii.—<sup>34</sup> Stukeley's Stone-

henge p. 10.—<sup>35</sup> Dio p. 1011.—<sup>36</sup> Vol. I. p. 140. &c.

—<sup>37</sup> Stukeley c. 10. and Borlase lib. III. c. 8.—

<sup>38</sup> Offian vol. i. p. 42.—<sup>39</sup> Stonehenge c. 10.—<sup>40</sup> Offian P. 371.

passim. And see Crit. Dissert. p. 315.—<sup>41</sup> Borlase's

Cornwall p. 299.—<sup>42</sup> Kennet's Par. Ant. p. 698. And

Carte p. 196. corroborates this account with the ex-  
press testimony of the old Welsh bards, who assert this  
to have been the place of Vortigern's sepulture.—

<sup>43</sup> Adamnan's life of Columba lib. I. c. 33. in Colgan's

Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ, vol. II. p. 345.—<sup>44</sup> Ware,

Harris, p. 142, and Mona p. 214.—<sup>45</sup> Birt's Letters.

vol. II. p. 102—103, and Gent. Mag. May 1752.—

<sup>46</sup> Cæsar p. 122 of the Gauls.—<sup>47</sup> Stonehenge p. 45.—

<sup>48</sup> Offian vol. I. p. 55. &c. —<sup>49</sup> Borlase p. 238 and

239.—<sup>50</sup> Mela l. III. c. 2.—<sup>51</sup> Cæsar p. 122.—<sup>52</sup> Stone-

henge p. 46, Borlase p. 237, and Offian vol. I. p. 153.

—<sup>53</sup> Birt's Letters vol. II. p. 301.—<sup>54</sup> Birt's Letters

vol. II. p. 299—300.

## VI.

THE art of drawing out our ideas into vision, and  
declaring the sentiments of the mind by the imagery of  
characters, could never have resulted perhaps from any  
principle of human reasoning, but was first suggested  
by the Deity. And such an art became necessary  
for a being like man, who required the assistance

Sect. VI. of moral revelations to point out to him the line of his duty, and the interposition of consolatory prophecies to encourage him in the practice of it. These would naturally be committed to writing for the same reason for which they were given, to preclude the fatal inconveniences of mistakes, and instruct or confirm the future ages of the world. And one prophecy we know to have been actually committed, even as early as the seventh generation only from Adam; that remarkable prediction of Enoch's, which is formally cited by St. Jude, and of which a very solemn passage is transmitted to us by him<sup>1</sup>.

The use of letters, therefore, is prior to the æra which is commonly fixed for the introduction of them, the age of Moses. As many divine revelations were made to man, so many were entrusted to writing, before the period of the Mosaical works. And all the various combinations of the Noachidæ at Babel carried P. 372. a regular alphabet away with them, to the places of their several dispersions. This most of them afterwards forgot. They probably first neglected and lost the code of divine laws and promises, as wishing not to be troubled by the discipline of the one, and having no longer therefore any satisfaction in the hope of the other. And afterwards they gradually forgot the letters, which had been taught to their fathers entirely for those ends, and the knowledge of which had been wholly preserved among them by those writings. The Gauls, in particular, had evidently lost the use of their original alphabet; as in the days of Cæsar they had adopted the Græcian from the neighbouring inhabitants of Mar-

selles<sup>2</sup>. And the Britons had equally forgotten theirs, Sect. VI. and in the reign of Tiberius had borrowed the Roman from Gaul. That the latter were, for ages before the invasion of Claudius, not possessed of any British letters at all, we need no other argument to show us, than that even in the days of Cunobeline, and before the first settlement of the Romans among them, their coins exhibit constantly a foreign alphabet, and present us perpetually with Italian characters. In the flourishing state of the British commerce during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, and in the frequent intercourse of the Britons with the Romans and Romanized natives of Gaul, the former adopted the letters which they found universal with the latter, and introduced the Italian alphabet amongst us. This was the first perhaps that had ever been imported into the island, and assuredly the first that had been brought into Lancashire. And the useful invention was instantly carried over the country; and appears from the coins of Durinum, Eburo, and Eisu to have reached into the kingdom of the Durotriges in the west and of the Brigantes in the north, before the victories of Vespasian in the one and of Agricola in the other. And the Cornish, P. 373. Welsh, Scotch, and Irish languages have, from that period to the present, invariably used the characters of the Romans in writing.

The want of a British alphabet naturally gave a ready admission to the Italian. And the long settlement of the Italians in Britain as naturally made a free opening for their language. The latter became nearly as familiar to the ears, as the former to the eyes, of the

Sect. VI. Britons. And the language seems to have been generally spoken by the gentlemen after the coming of the Romans, and even to have been understood by many before it. Hence, in that period during which Strabo informs us that the Romans became well acquainted with the island, though they had not yet formed a settlement within it, and in which we know the Britons to have introduced a mint from the Gallick continent, we see so many of their current coins bearing Roman inscriptions<sup>3</sup>. And hence we find the epitaphs of the British monarchs, even after the departure of the Romans, all uniformly written in the language of Italy. Such is Pabo's, such is Eneon's, and such Cadvan's, all three in the isle of Anglesey only<sup>4</sup>. Hence also, which is very remarkable, the parental appellations among our superiour ranks at present are purely Roman, while those among the vulgar are absolutely British<sup>4</sup>. And, though the Italian could never have been likely to supersede the genuine language of the island, yet it appears to have been greatly incorporated with it, and has furnished it with a sixth or a seventh of its present terms.

<sup>3</sup> This remarkable passage has been imagined by the generality of our criticks, not to be cited by St. Jude from any book of Enoch's existing in the days of the apostle, but to have been merely suggested to his mind by the power of inspiration. But the supposition, however general, is obviously a piece of critical refinement. The passage is as formally cited by St. Jude from Enoch,

Enoch, as the well-known line and half-line are by Sect. VI. St. Paul from Epimenides and Aratus. And these quotations may as justly be referred to the mere suggestions of inspiration, as that. Reason is often obliged to appeal from criticism to common-sense.—<sup>2</sup> Cæsar p. 120.—<sup>3</sup> Strabo p. 306, and ch. ix. f. 1. before.—<sup>4</sup> Mona plates 9 and 10. The Tat or Dad of the vulgar are British for a father, as Mam is for a mother. And the Tata, Papa, and Mama of genteeler life are all Roman.

## VII.

WHEN Claudio<sup>s</sup> subdued the more southerly Britons, he prudently deprived them of their arms<sup>1</sup>. And, when Ostorius took possession of his government here, he disarmed even such of the allies as he suspected of hostile designs<sup>2</sup>. But, on the peaceable settlement of the country, and its cheerful submission to the Romans, all the Britons appear to have recovered their arms again. Hence, even on the doubtful confines of the north, and in the dangerous neighbourhood of the Caledonians, we see the Britons indulged with them, and constantly prepared for war<sup>3</sup>. And some British Celts have been discovered in Cornwall wrapt up in a covering of linen<sup>4</sup>, a species of cloth (as I shall afterwards shew) introduced into Britain by the Romans; and others have been found both in Cornwall and Yorkshire, accompanied with Roman coins<sup>5</sup>. Many of the Britons were levied for the foreign service of the Ro-

Sect. VII. mans, and sent in different detachments to the continent<sup>6</sup>. And many of them were equally levied for the same service at home, and sent to the armies in action or the garrisons on the borders. For these purposes only, could the Romans have allowed any arms at all to the Britons. And several bodies of them are mentioned in Tacitus and inscriptions, to have been actually engaged in battle against the northern Britons, or actually stationed upon duty along the northern wall<sup>7</sup>. These would naturally be demanded of the states in rotation by the Romans, and raised in rotation among the subjects by the monarchs.

When it was requisite for the Britons to call out their warriours into the field, they used a method that was particularly marked by its expeditiousnes and decisiveness, and remains partially among us to this moment. They raised a cry, which was immediately caught up by others, and in an instant transmitted from mouth to mouth through all the region. And, as the notice passed along, the warriours snatched their arms, and hurried away to the rendezvous. We have a remarkable description of the fact in Cæsar, and there see the alarm propagated in sixteen or seventeen hours through 160 miles in a line. *Ubi major atque illustrior incidit res, says he, clamore per agros regionesque significant: hunc alii deinceps excipiunt, et proximis tradunt: ut tunc accidit; nam quæ oriente sole Genabi gesta essent, the insurrection of the Carnutes and the maffacre of the Romans, ante primam coniectam vigiliam in finibus Arvernorum auditæ sunt; quod spatium est millium passuum circiter 160<sup>8</sup>.* And the same practice has been retained

retained by the Highlanders to our own time. When <sup>Sect. VII.</sup> the lord of a clan received intelligence of an enemy's approach, he immediately killed a goat with his own sword, dipped the end of a half-burnt stick in the blood, and then gave it and the notice of the rendezvous to be carried to the next hamlet. The former symbolically threatened fire and sword to all his followers, that did not instantly repair to the latter. The notice was dispatched from hamlet to hamlet with the utmost expedition. And in three or four hours the whole clan was in arms, and assembled at the place appointed <sup>9</sup>. This was within these few years the ordinary mode, by which the chieftains assembled their followers for war. The first person that received the notice set out with it at full speed, delivered it to the next that he met, who instantly set out on the same speed, and handed it to a third. And, in the late rebellion of 1745, it was sent by an unknown hand through the region of Braidalbin; and, flying as expeditiously as the Gallick signal in Cæsar, traversed a tract of thirty-two miles in three hours <sup>10</sup>. This quick method of giving a diffusive alarm is even preserved among ourselves to the present day, but is applied, as it seems from Cæsar's account above to have been equally applied among the Celtæ, to the better purposes of civil polity. The hutesium and clamor of our laws, and the hue and cry of our own times, is a well-known and powerful process for spreading the notice and continuing the pursuit of any fugitive felons. The cry, like the clamour of the Gauls or the summons of the Highlanders, is taken from town to town and from county to county. And a chain of communication

Sect. VII. is speedily carried from one end of the kingdom to the other.

Thus raised, each corps would march to the place of destination, commanded by the monarch or his deputy, and marshalled under the standard of the kingdom. And each subordinate chief in it would command his P. 375. own followers under the general, and range them beneath his own standard. Such was, in fact, the usual disposition of the British forces <sup>11</sup>. And every principle of policy and honour concurred to bind the followers closely to their chief. The strong attachment of the Highland clans to their lairds is well known. And we see exactly the same vigorous and implicit fidelity professed and practised among the Gauls and Britons. When Litavicus was detected in his design of causing a defection among the *Æduri*, says Cæsar, he fled to Gergovia, and was attended by all his retainers; as, according to the Gallick customs, it was criminal for them to desert their lords in the greatest extremity of distress: *quibus [clientelis] nefas more Gallorum est, etiam in extremâ fortunâ deserere patronos* <sup>12</sup>. This is evidently as striking a picture, as could be drawn even by a modern hand, of a Highland clan. And two clans of Britons in these north-western parts of England, that in the sixth century broke out into rebellion with their chiefs, against a king equally religious and generous, and for so ridiculous an object as a couple of dogs and a lark's nest, were highly extolled at the time, and are greatly celebrated by a Welsh author of the tenth century, for their exemplary loyalty to their lords. One of them obstinately continued in rebellion after their chieftain

chieftain was defeated and slain, and maintained a series Sect. VII. of daily engagements for no less than six weeks together, in order to revenge his death ; and the other, after the defeat, attended their lord in his flight, accompanied him even into Ireland, and there devoted themselves to a perpetual exile with him. And they have therefore been transmitted with applause to posterity by their contemporaries and the Welsh author above, and distinguished by the highest and most honourable appellation that either of them thought they could give, that of The two loyal clans of Britain <sup>13</sup>.

These forces would be all armed after the British mode, with brass swords, brass Celts, and spears, the dagger, the scythed chariot, and the bow. The British implements of war must have been fully sufficient in themselves, against the similarly armed Britons of the north. The Roman auxiliaries constantly retained their own weapons <sup>14</sup>. And the copper swords and brass Celts of the Britons have been discovered, as I have already observed, wrapt up in Roman-British linen and attended by Roman-British coins.

The military discipline of the Britons was greatly superior to the ideas, which are universally entertained concerning it. They commonly encamped behind a stream, for fear of a surprize by night <sup>15</sup>. They lighted their fires, and posted their centinels, about the camp <sup>16</sup>. And they even had regularly what they denominated “The troop of the night,” which was stationed at some distance from the army, to descry the remoter approaches of an enemy, and guard the more effectually against a sudden attack <sup>17</sup>. Their commanders frequently

Sect. VII. quently walked the rounds in the dark, and personally inspected the order and disposition of the men <sup>18</sup>. And they had certain appointed signals for the night or the day, the several “ voices of their kings, which the warriours “ received from the wind, and marked over all their “ tribes <sup>19</sup>.” These were given either by the general’s horn, the beating of his shield, or the exertion of his voice <sup>20</sup>. And his target was particularly fitted with several hollow bofes, each of which was occasionally beat upon with his spear, and emitted a loud and different sound <sup>21</sup>. As he struck “ the shield of his “ alarms,” the warriours of the night moved on to their posts <sup>22</sup>. As another bof was sounded, the bards acknowledged the summons, and immediately attended his person <sup>23</sup>. And by one signal from the shield the troops were ordered instantly to advance and begin the fight, as by a second they were commanded to discontinue it and retreat <sup>24</sup>. The troops marched up to the attack under the sounds of their military songs, the bards beginning the chaunt, and the men taking it from them;

P. 376. till the whole army re-echoed with the storied deeds of their fathers, and with predictions of ruin on their enemies <sup>25</sup>. And the bards constantly attended upon the general in the hour of battle. As his aids in the field, they were ready to carry occasionally his orders to the chiefs <sup>26</sup>. As the poets of the state, they were useful to invigorate the fainting courage of the men with songs <sup>27</sup>. And, when they chaunted the words of peace, the battle ceased on both sides <sup>28</sup>.

Though the Romans modelled the British troops into cohorts, they left them, as they left all their auxiliaries,

to follow their own discipline in war <sup>29</sup>. But, from the <sup>See. VII.</sup> constant intermixture of the British and Roman forces, the officers of the former necessarily learnt, and sometimes occasionally introduced into their armies afterwards, the disposition that was used among the latter. Thus in 556, more than 100 years after the departure of the Romans from the island, and at the fight of Barbanbury against the Saxons, the Britons ranged their numerous army in nine divisions, three forming the front-line, three the rear-guard, and three the center; and the archers, spearmen, and cavalry were drawn up in the Roman order of battle; *viris sagittariis et telorum jaculatoribus equitibusque jure Romanorum dispositis*. And, even thirty-five years afterwards, the Britons posted their troops, like the Romans, in distinct divisions, *more Romanorum acies distinctè admoverent*; while the Saxons rushed upon them, as at the former engagement, in one close and confused column <sup>30</sup>.

Thus were all the Britons successively called out into service. And thus was a military skill continually cultivated among the British gentlemen, and a military spirit as continually kept alive among the British villains, through the whole period of the Roman residence in the island.

<sup>1</sup> Dio p. 959.—<sup>2</sup> Tacitus Ann. lib. xii. c. 30.—

<sup>3</sup> Ossian vol. I. p. 130.—<sup>4</sup> Camden p. 137.—<sup>5</sup> Borlase p. 283.—<sup>6</sup> Vit. Agric. c. 13. and Gruter.—<sup>7</sup> Agric. V. c. 29. and 32, and Horseyeley N° 20 Scotland and 76 Northumberland.—<sup>8</sup> Cæsar p. 135.—<sup>9</sup> Ossian vol. I.

Sect. VII. p. 160, a note.—<sup>10</sup> Birt on the Highlanders vol. II.  
p. 227, and Pennant's Tour in Scotland p. 164.—  
<sup>11</sup> Ossian vol. I. p. 57.—<sup>12</sup> Cæsar p. 155.—<sup>13</sup> Carte  
vol. I. p. 211.—<sup>14</sup> Vegetius lib. ii. c. 2.—<sup>15</sup> Ossian vol.  
II. p. 39.—<sup>16</sup> Vol. I. p. 235.—<sup>17</sup> Vol. I. p. 18.—  
<sup>18</sup> Vol. II. p. 39.—<sup>19</sup> Vol. II. p. 128.—<sup>20</sup> Vol. I.  
p. 66, 77, &c.—<sup>21</sup> Vol. II. p. 85, 87, 129, and 130.  
—<sup>22</sup> Vol. I. p. 19.—<sup>23</sup> Vol. II. p. 130.—<sup>24</sup> Vol. II.  
p. 85 and 87, and Vol. II. p. 56 and 106.—<sup>25</sup> Vol. II.  
p. 50, and Dio p. 1010.—<sup>26</sup> Vol. I. p. 54.—<sup>27</sup> Vol. I.  
p. 56.—<sup>28</sup> Vol. I. p. 118 and 140, and Diodorus  
p. 354, for Bards. See also Cæsar p. 90 for address  
in war.—<sup>29</sup> Vegetius lib. ii. c. 2.—<sup>30</sup> Huntingdon f. 180  
and 181. Saville.

## C H A P. XI.

THE MANUFACTURES ESTABLISHED IN BRITAIN BEFORE AND AFTER THE SETTLEMENT OF THE ROMANS—THE FOREIGN AND INLAND COMMERCE OF THE BRITONS—THE STATE OF RELIGION AMONG THEM—AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT BROUGHT IN BY CHRISTIANITY.

## I.

WHEN guilt had introduced the principle of <sup>P. 377.</sup> shame into the mind, and made a covering requisite to the decencies of the body; when vengeance had charged the seasons with inclemency and armed the elements with unkindness against the votary of sin, and an artificial warmth became necessary to the health of his frame; the skins of beasts would naturally be the first cloathing of man. The flocks and herds about him presented their wooly or hairy garments to his hand. And the Mosaical records demonstrate him to have used them<sup>1</sup>. This species of cloathing continued regularly among the descendants of Adam, for a long succession of ages. And our own Britons, in particular, retained it to the days of Cæsar<sup>2</sup>. But it was probably prepared in various manners, and modelled into

Sect. I. into various shapes. And, even in skins, elegance would naturally succeed to convenience.

The next improvement in the drapery of man, would be to separate the fleece from the hide, resign the latter to the tent or the couch, and combine the former by itself into vests. And this appears to have been done within a few ages after the dispersion<sup>3</sup>. Begun originally in the east, it must afterwards have taken its course into the west. But the mere refinements of dress will always spread very slowly through nations military and roving. This, in particular, seems P. 378. not to have made its entrance into Britain till fourteen or fifteen ages afterwards, and a hundred or a hundred and fifty years before the period of Cæsar's invasion. At that æra, the use of woolen vestures was nearly confined to the Belgæ of the south. And most of the original Britons retained the dresses of their fathers<sup>4</sup>.

When the county of Lancaster stooped with a forced subjection to the arms and with a cheerful submission to the virtues of Agricola, many woolen manufactures were carried on with success within the circuit of the Roman empire<sup>5</sup>. A very considerable one was particularly established in Gaul. This was of the plaided drapery which I have mentioned before<sup>6</sup>. And it had been long prosecuted by the inhabitants of that country<sup>7</sup>. In the open commerce, therefore, which was carried on betwixt them and the islanders, it must naturally have been wafted over into Britain. And it was actually introduced by the commercial colonists on its coasts; who appear equally to have used the drapery among

among them, and to have not imported it from the continent<sup>8</sup>. This was the original commencement of a manufacture in Britain, which has since been of such political consequence to the nation, the source of all our wealth, and the basis of all our power! But it could not long have been confined within the pale of the Belgick states. Even in the days of Cæsar, several of the British monarchs seem already to have introduced it into their own kingdoms, as their subjects generally clad themselves in woolen<sup>9</sup>. And from them it would easily be diffused, and appears to have been actually spread, over the whole face of the island<sup>10</sup>. The Highlanders were in the third century, and are to this day, possessed of a manufacture of plaiding; and the striped mantles which are made of it they denominate Breacan. And the Welsh had equally a manufacture in the twelfth, and the coarse rough cloth which they fabricated was popularly known among them by the similar appellation of Brychan<sup>11</sup>. Such was the first introduction of a woolen manufacture into Lancashire, which has since been of so considerable importance to it, the origin of its commerce, and the occasion of its greatness!

This, however, could have made but little progress in Lancashire, before the Romans advanced into the county. The monarch had probably invited artists with their implements from the south; and each baron perhaps had a loom in the offices of his house, worked by some of his own retainers, and furnishing himself and his family with this agreeable cloathing. But the manufacture of the Britons must

Sect. I. must have been greatly improved by the Romans. And the woolen one of Lancashire, in particular, was probably carried by them nearly to all that standard of mixt perfection, at which it was prosecuted about two or three centuries ago among us.

The woolen drapery would naturally be prior to the linen in its origin. And the fibrous plant, from which the threads of the latter are produced, seems to have been first noticed by the eye, and first worked up into cloth by the hand, of the inhabitants of Egypt. That, at least, is the earliest kingdom which we find possessed of the drapery. And there the origin of the manufacture appears to have been remarkably early, as even at the æra of Joseph's administration it had risen to a very considerable degree of refinement <sup>11</sup>. For many centuries afterwards, the Egyptians had large plantations of flax among them, and Egypt remained the great staple of the linen trade <sup>12</sup>. From this kingdom it was probably carried with every other art into Greece, and plainly appears from its Greek appellation among the Romans to have been brought by the Græcians into Italy. And Italy carried her military settlements and her linen manufacture together, into Spain, Gaul, Germany, and Britain <sup>13</sup>.

Flax appears to have been originally a native of the east, the western being merely a degenerate species of it. And the eastern is constantly imported among us at present. But it was first planted in the soil of Britain by the Romans. And the present manner of working it into cloth is evidently Roman. Being plucked up by the roots, and formed into bundles for

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the hand, it was hung up to dry in the sun, and afterwards steeped in a river or pool. When the plant was sufficiently macerated in the water, it was dried in the sun again, and beaten upon a stone with a mallet. The interior and finer filaments being extracted, and fifteen pounds deduced from fifty, it was carried to the distaff, and wound into thread. And it was afterwards softened and smoothed by being frequently taken out of the water and dashed against flints, was woven into cloth, and then beaten with keys<sup>14</sup>.

This linen or flaxen manufacture was probably introduced into the island with the first settlements of the Romans in it. And the coarser one of hemp was introduced as probably with both. Hence the Roman appellation for the latter, Cannabis, is strongly refounded in the Kanab of the Armoricans and Kannaib of the Irish, and softly echoed in the Saxon Hænep and the English Hemp. And it seems to have been brought equally from the east with flax. In the first century, the best European hemp was imported from Asia. And the plant was not then very common in Italy<sup>15</sup>.

The naval cordage of the earlier ages was in all probability thongs of leather. The hide which covered the tent, formed the bed, and cloathed the body, would naturally offer the most obvious supply of it to the mind of man. And the Caledonians retained these primitive ropes in the third century<sup>16</sup>. The nations to the north of the Baltick had them in the ninth or tenth<sup>17</sup>. And the inhabitants of the western isles of Scotland make use of them at present; cutting the skin of a seal or the raw and salted hide of a cow into long pieces, and fastening the plough to their

Sect. I. horses with them, or even twisting them into strong ropes of 20 or 30 fathoms in length <sup>18</sup>. But these, in the south of our island and on the continent, were early superseded by the application of iron chains to this purpose. The very maritime and commercial nation of the Veneti, that was so intimately connected with the Belgæ of Britain, had iron chains for its cables in the days of Cæsar <sup>19</sup>. And the astonishing temple of Stonehenge, which lies in the dominions of the Belgæ, and was plainly the work of their improved architecture, could not have been constructed without the assistance of chains. But in the more distant and refined countries of the south, both thongs and these had long given way to the use of vegetable threads, and the arts of combining them into strength. In this manner the Greeks appear to have used the common rushes of their country, and the Carthaginians the spartum or broom of Spain <sup>20</sup>. And, as all the cordage of the Romans was made of these materials at their last descent on our island <sup>21</sup>, so the art of manufacturing them would necessarily be introduced with the Roman settlements among us. Under the direction of Roman artists, our thongs of leather would be laid aside, and the junci or rushes of our plains worked up into cordage. And, what remarkably coincides with the opinion, the remnants of old cables and ropes are still distinguished among our sailors by the appellation of old junk.

The nations of Roman Britain, and the tribes of Caledonia and Ireland, had inherited from their earliest ancestors many of the ruder arts of navigation <sup>22</sup>. Their ships were large open boats, framed of light timbers, ribbed with hurdles, and lined with hides <sup>23</sup>.

And

And they transported small armies in them from South-  
Britain to Gaul, from Caledonia to Ireland, and from  
Ireland to Silley <sup>22</sup>. These were furnished with masts  
and sails. And the latter were formed of hides,  
as the tackle was of thongs. They were actually  
of hides among the Veneti on the continent, as late as  
the days of Cæsar <sup>23</sup>. And they were never furled,  
being only bound to the mast <sup>24</sup>. But these slight sea-  
boats and their rude furniture would soon be dismissed  
by the provincials, for the more substantial vessels and  
more artificial sails of the Romans. The Roman sails,  
which were composed of flax in the days of Agricola <sup>25</sup>,  
were afterwards made of hemp ; and our own are there-  
fore denominated Cannabis or Canvas by our mariners  
at present. And about the same period assuredly did  
the junk of the British cordage give way to the same  
materials ; the use of hempen ropes upon land, and of  
hempen nets for hunting, being very common among  
the Romans in the first century <sup>26</sup>.

The commencement of letters I have already shown  
to have been considerably previous to the flood. These  
were first inscribed perhaps, according to the tradition  
of the heathens, upon the broad leaves of the palm <sup>27</sup>.  
And palm-leaves, the bark of various trees, sheets of lead  
and linen, and tables of wax, were successively used as  
the paper of the antients. The famous reed of Egypt,  
which furnished the first materials and gave the present  
denomination to paper, was discovered a little before  
the death of Alexander, and for a long time supposed  
to be peculiar to the Nile. And the exportation  
of it being occasionally prohibited, as the kings of P. 382.  
Egypt

Sect. I. Egypt and Attalia contended with each other in the growing magnificence of their libraries; and the facility of the human understanding being excited by emulation; a new species of paper was invented at Pergamus in the latter, and denominated Pergamenum or Parchment<sup>28</sup>. But the reed was afterwards found equally in other parts of the east. And all the paper of the Romans was made of it, at their first entrance among and for many ages after their departure from us<sup>29</sup>. The Britons, who had no letters, could have no paper. And the Romans introduced both it and parchment into Britain. Hence the former is denominated Pappyr among the Welsh, Paper and Pabaur in Armorick, and Phaipear in Irish. The latter has also received from the Roman Pergamenum the appellation of Parshemin among the Armoricans, and from the Roman Membrana<sup>30</sup> that of Memrun in Welsh and Meambrun in Irish. And a coarse manufacture of both would naturally be introduced with the knowledge of them.

The inhabitants of Britain were equally unacquainted with the making of salt. This agreeable and useful seasoning of our food, during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, was imported by foreign merchants into the south-western parts of the island<sup>31</sup>. And, had it been made at all in the kingdom, it would have been within that region of it particularly, and in such quantities as, under the circumstances of the country, would have absolutely prevented any importation. The Romans had long been acquainted with the art<sup>32</sup>. And they brought it very early into Britain. The first at-

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Sect. I.

tempt would naturally be the easiest, and confined to the margin of the sea. And a very considerable quantity of the finest and firmest salt, in Europe, appears to have been made upon the shores of Britain in the fourth century <sup>33</sup>. But the Romans had been long instructed to search for the springs of brine in the ground, and to boil the water into cakes <sup>34</sup>. And they actually opened some pits before the middle of the second century. The first were probably the Salinæ which were situated in the country of the Cattieuchlani or Cassii, and perhaps at Salndy in Bedfordshire; which are expressly mentioned by Ptolemy, but are now unknown and lost <sup>35</sup>. About the same period or very soon after it, others were sunk at Droitwich in Worcestershire <sup>36</sup>. And, posteriorly to both, the Romans discovered the salt-springs of Cheshire, and opened the requisite wells to them <sup>37</sup>. These were the present pits of Northwich. The spring at Condate or Kinderton lies sixteen or seventeen yards below the surface: but at Northwich it rises into light. The latter therefore would naturally be discovered before the former, though that was at the distance of three or four miles from the Roman station, and this within the area of it; as the mines of solid salt at Northwich lay concealed in the ground, and unknown to us all, till the year 1670. And the towns of Salndy perhaps, and certainly of Northwich and Droitwich, arose successively in consequence of these brine-pits, and were constructed in the immediate vicinity of them <sup>38</sup>.

Sect. I. —<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxi. 21.—<sup>2</sup> Cæsar p. 89.—<sup>3</sup> Gen. xiv. 23, xxxviii. 12, and xxxvii. 34.—<sup>4</sup> Cæsar p. 89.—<sup>5</sup> Pliny lib. viii. c. 48.—<sup>6</sup> Pliny ibid. and Strabo p. 301.—<sup>7</sup> Strabo ibid.—<sup>8</sup> Cæsar p. 89, Interiores pellibus sunt vestiti, and Strabo p. 305 and 307. for imports.—<sup>9</sup> Cæsar p. 89, Plerique interiores pellibus sunt vestiti.—<sup>10</sup> Ossian vol. I. p. 140. and 156. In the latter page we have the robe of an Irish or extra-provincial woman mentioned. And in the former we have that of a provincial opposed to it. “She is seen, Malvina, but “not like the daughters of the Hill; her robes are “from the strangers land.”—And for the present Highlanders see Birt’s Letters v. II. p. 143, Martin’s Western Islands p. 57, and Crit. Diff. p. 166; and for the Welsh of the twelfth century Giraldus Cambrensis p. 888.—<sup>11</sup> Gen. xli. 42.—<sup>12</sup> Exodus ix. 21. and Pliny lib. xix. c. 1.—<sup>13</sup> See Pliny ibid. And all these nations therefore have equally adopted the Roman appellation for flax or linen, and retain it with little variation at present.—<sup>14</sup> Ibid.—<sup>15</sup> Pliny lib. xix. c. 9.—<sup>16</sup> Ossian vol. I. p. 106.—<sup>17</sup> See Alfredi Vita per Spelmanum p. 205. for king Alfred’s preface to his version of Orosius.—<sup>18</sup> Hatrik’s Western Isles, p. 65.—Cæsar p. 55, Strabo p. 297, and sect. 3.—<sup>19</sup> Pliny lib. xix. c. 2.—<sup>20</sup> Cæsar p. 240, and Pliny lib. iv. c. 16.—<sup>21</sup> Cæsar and Pliny ibid. and Solinus c. 22.—<sup>22</sup> Ossian vol. I. p. 106 and 41, and Cæsar p. 73. And Cæsar transported troops in such boats across a great river in Spain (p. 240).—<sup>23</sup> Cæsar p. 55, and Dio p.

P. 384,

212. From this account of the state of navigation Sect. I. among the Caledonians of the western coast, Solinus appears to have been mistaken in c. 22, where he represents the passage across the Irish sea to have been so dangerous in those curroghs. And in the isle of Sky they used these leather boats upon all ordinary occasions within these hundred years (Crit. Differt. p. 325). But this point has been more amply treated, since the first edition, in the Genuine History of the Britons Asserted against Mr. Macpherson, p. 178—181. And to both accounts let me add, That in the time of Columba, who lived in the fifth century, we see a vessel lined with leather, *pelliceum tectum, navis penetrales*, which went with oars and sails, and had several mariners on board, scudding before a storm plenis velis, for fourteen days together, without foundering; carried to the north beyond the track of any former navigators, *ultra humani excursus modum*; and yet, after all, safely gaining her port (Adamnan's Life of Columba, written in the eighth century, l. ii. c. 42. p. 362, in Colgan's Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae v. II).—<sup>24</sup> Ossian v. I. p. 41, 45, and 75.—<sup>25</sup> Pliny Proem. and c. i. l. 19.—<sup>26</sup> Pliny c. ii. and ix. l. 19.—<sup>27</sup> Pliny c. xi. l. 13.—<sup>28</sup> Ibid.—<sup>29</sup> Ibid.—<sup>30</sup> Ibid.—<sup>31</sup> Strabo p. 265.—<sup>32</sup> Pliny c. vii. l. 31.—<sup>33</sup> Camden p. 194.—<sup>34</sup> Pliny c. vii. l. 31.—<sup>35</sup> Ptolemy, Camden c. 339, and Itin. Cur. p. 74.—<sup>36</sup> Richard's tenth Iter and Ravennas.—<sup>37</sup> Derventione, Salinis, Condite, in Ravennas.—<sup>38</sup> Mines of rock-salt were known to the antients: *Sunt et montes nativi salis*, says Pliny, *ut in Indis Oromenus, in quo lapidicinarum modo cæditur renascens*; lib. xxxi. c. 7.

## II.

THE first foreign commerce of the Britons was occasioned by the resort of the Phœnicians to their coasts. These bold adventurers in navigation and traffick, having planted colonies at Carthage and Cadiz, and ranging along the borders of the great un-traversed ocean on the west, reached the south-western promontories of Britain, and entered into a trading correspondence with the inhabitants of it. And the real singularity and commercial consequences of the voyage gave great reputation to the officer that conducted it, and have occasioned the name of Midacritus to be transmitted with honour to posterity. Midacritus brought  
P. 385. the first vessel of the Phœnicians to our coasts. And Midacritus opened the first commerce of the Phœnicians with our fathers. He found the country to abound particularly with tin, which was equally useful and rare. He trafficked with the Britons for it. And he returned home with a valuable cargo of the metal<sup>1</sup>.

Such was the first faint effort of the commercial genius of Britain, which was afterwards to conduct the vessels of the island to the shores of Carthage and Tyre, and even to raise the Britons superior in boldness and skill to the Phœnicians! And it was made some years before the time of Herodotus, and about the period of the population of Lancashire, about five centuries before the æra of Christ<sup>2</sup>. The Belgæ were not yet landed in the island. The original Britons possessed

possessed all the southern parts of it<sup>3</sup>. And the trade was opened with the natives of the Cassiterides or Silley islands<sup>4</sup>. These were then only ten in number, though they are now more than a hundred and forty; and only nine of them were inhabited as late as the reign of Tiberius<sup>5</sup>. But there was one greatly superior in size to the rest, which was therefore distinguished by the general appellation of the whole, being denominated Caffiteris Insula or the Tin-island<sup>6</sup>. This was the first land of Britain which the Phoenicians reached, and with which Midacritus began the traffick for tin<sup>6</sup>. It was known amongst the Britons by the appellation of Silura, evidently the origin of the present name of the whole<sup>7</sup>. And it was then a considerable island, being separated only by a dangerous strait from the shore of Cornwall<sup>7</sup>, and reaching beyond the present uninhabited islet of Silley. The isles of Brehar, Guel, Trescaw, St. Martin's, and St. Sampson's, the rocks and islets adjoining to all, and St. Mary's and the Eastern isles, all composed this original island. And large banks still extend from St. Martin's nearly to St. Mary's and the Eastern, which are uncovered at low water, and have only a depth of four feet at high. Guel and Brehar, now half a mile distant from the rock of Silley, appear plainly to have been once connected with it. And Trescaw, Brehar, St. Martin's, St. Sampson's, and their adjoining islets, were once evidently united together. Sands run from Brehar to Trescaw, and may sometimes be crossed on foot. Betwixt Trescaw, Brehar, and St. Sampson's, the flats are laid entirely bare at the recefs of a spring-tide,

Sect. II. tide, and a dry passage is opened across the sand-banks from one to the other. In these, over which the tide rises ten or twelve feet in depth, hedges and walls of stone are frequently disclosed by the shifting of the sands. And from the general remains of stone-hedges, stone-walls, and contiguous houses, and from the number of barrows which are dispersed over the face of them all, the whole appears to have been fully cultivated and thoroughly inhabited <sup>8</sup>.

This island was peculiarly replenished with mines of tin, though the present remains of it exhibit no traces of the antient works, and scarce any appearances of the antient metal. But in the month of May 1767 a rich vein of tin was discovered in St. Mary's, I think, which bore directly into the sea, and pointed towards the shore of Cornwall; and even many of them were known to be well stored with the metal within these two centuries. And the cargo which Midacritus brought from the island, and the account which he gave of it and its isles, occasioned a regular resort of the Phœnicians to the coasts of Silley. The trade was very advantageous to the state. And the track was solicitously concealed by the publick <sup>9</sup>.

Thus continued the traffick of Britain for nearly three hundred years, being esteemed the most beneficial in Europe, and carefully sought after by all the commercial powers in the Mediterranean <sup>10</sup>. The Greeks of Marseilles first followed the course of the Phœnician voyagers; and some time before the days of P. 387. Iybius, and about two hundred years before the age of Christ, began to share with them in the trade of  
tip.

in ". The Carthaginian commerce declined. The <sup>Sect. II.</sup> Massylian increased. And, in the reign of Augustus, the whole current of the British traffick had been gradually diverted into this channel <sup>12</sup>. At that period the trade of the island was very considerable. Two roads (as I have formerly mentioned <sup>13</sup>) were laid across it, and reached from Sandwich to Caernarvon on one side and from Dorsetshire into Suffolk on the other; and the commerce of the shores was carried along them into the interiour parts of the country. The great staple of the tin was no longer settled in a distant corner of the island. It was removed from Silley, and fixed in the isle of Wight, a central part of the coast, lying equally betwixt the two roads, and better adapted to the new arrangements of the trade <sup>14</sup>. Thither the tin was brought by the Belgæ, and thither the foreign merchants resorted with their wares. And the trade was no longer carried on by vessels that coasted tediously along the shores of Spain and Gaul. The tin was now transported over the neighbouring channel, unshipped on the opposite coast, and sent upon horses across the land or by boats along the rivers to Marseilles and Narbonne <sup>14</sup>. And the Veneti of Gaul were the merchants, that resorted to the isle of Wight with their vessels, that bartered with the Britons for their metal, and transmitted it across the continent afterwards <sup>14</sup>.

This isle, which is now separated from the remainder of Hampshire by a channel little more than half a mile in breadth about the point of Hurst-castle, was then a part of the greater island, disjoined from it only by the

Sect. II. the tide, and united to it at the ebb<sup>15</sup>. And, during the recess of the waters, the Britons constantly passed over the low isthmus of land with their cart-loads of tin<sup>15</sup>. This was also the case with many other places on the southerly shore of Britain, which appeared as islands only on the tide of flood, and became peninsulas at the ebb<sup>15</sup>. And it is curious to mark the different operations of the sea upon the several parts of our coast. It has gained considerably upon the shore of Yorkshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, the eastern coast of Kent, and that of Sussex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, and Cornwall<sup>16</sup>. Within these forty years it has greatly usurped upon the Silley islands<sup>17</sup>; and even from May 1766 to May 1767, as I am informed, encroached near forty inches upon one of them. And these gradual and successive depredations are assuredly the cause, which has been so vainly explored in the annals of history, and has reduced the Silley islands to their present condition. These, and not the violence of an earthquake or a tempest, have widened the narrow strait of Solinus into an expanse of forty miles, have covered half the great island of Silura with the waters of the ocean, and left only its mountains and promontories rising like so many islets above the face of the waves. And these appear from the recent ravages in the islands, to be a cause fully adequate to the effect<sup>17</sup>. The sea also has greatly plundered the coasts of North-Devonshire, Pembrokeshire, and Cardiganshire<sup>18</sup>. But it has resigned a part of its original domain on the southern shore of Kent, in Lincolnshire, and Lancashire. In Kent it has retreated from the beach

beach of Sandwich, has sunk the small æstuary of Sect. II. Solinus into an insignificant current, and converted the fine harbour of Rhutupæ, where the Roman fleet was regularly laid up, into a valley watered with a river<sup>19</sup>. In Lincolnshire it has added a considerable quantity of ground to the coast, and left many thousands of acres betwixt the old bank of its waters and the present margin of its shore<sup>20</sup>. And in Lancashire the sands, which originally formed the beach of the sea, and were covered every tide with its waters, are now regularly inhabited. They are still distinguished among us by the appellation which they received from the Britons, and which is equally common to the sea-sands of Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Wales, that of Meales or loose quaggy lands<sup>21</sup>. But loose as they once were by nature, and quaggy as they were made by the overflowing of the tide, they are now cultivated, a parochial church has been erected, and a village constructed upon them.

In this state of the British commerce, the commodities imported into the island were earthen-ware, salt, and brass both wrought and in bullion<sup>22</sup>. And tin was not, as it had been originally, the only export of the island. It still remained the principal article of our foreign trade<sup>23</sup>. But with it were exported gold, silver, iron, and lead; hides, cattle, corn, and slaves; dogs, gems, and muscle-pearls<sup>24</sup>; polished horse-bits of bone, horse-collars, amber toys, and glass vessels<sup>25</sup>.

Such was the nature of our foreign traffick, when the Romans settled among us. And it instantly received a considerable improvement from them. This appears from

Sect. II. from that very remarkable circumstance in the interior history of the island, the sudden rise and commercial importance of London within a few years after their settlement in the country <sup>26</sup>. And the trade was no longer carried on by the two great roads to the southern shore, or the staple continued in the isle of Wight. The principal commerce still appears to have been confined to the south, and to the counties of Middlesex, Kent, Suffex, and Hampshire. But it was also diffused over the whole extent of the Roman conquests, and carried on directly from the western and eastern shores as well as the southern. And new ports were opened on every side of the island, most indeed about the south-eastern angle of it, but some along the eastern and western coasts. Thus Middlesex had the port of London, Kent the ports of Rhutupæ, Dubris, and Lemanis, Suffex those of Adurnum, Anderida, and Novus, and Hampshire that of Magnus <sup>27</sup>. And Yorkshire had its port Felix on one side, and Lancashire its port Sif-tuntian on the other <sup>28</sup>. These were evidently the commercial harbours of the Roman Britons. Had they been merely the useful bays on the coasts, as they must have been much more considerable in number, and mentioned upon every part of our shores, so would they have been equally noticed upon the coasts of Caledonia and Ireland.

P. 390. They were all of them harbours first used by the Romans ; they had all of them cities first raised by the Romans upon them ; and under the Romans they became considerable ports for commerce <sup>29</sup>. And the articles introduced into the island at them, were the many which I have previously mentioned to have been brought into

Britain by the Romans, and sugar, pepper, ginger, writing-  
paper, and other similar commodities perhaps, besides  
them. The saccharum or sugar of the Romans, like our  
own, was the extracted honey of a cane, was brought  
from Arabia or India, and used only for medicinal pur-  
poses <sup>30</sup>. And all these spices appear from their Ro-  
man-British appellations to have been first imported  
among us by the Romans. And the articles sent out of  
the island must have been partly the same as before,  
and the additional ones of gagates or jet, the British  
being the best and most copious in Europe <sup>31</sup>, and of  
the silvery marble or chalk of Kent and Essex, which was  
shipped off for the marshy countries on the Rhine <sup>32</sup>;  
bears for the foreign amphitheaters, baskets, salt, corn,  
and oysters <sup>32</sup>.

Such was the foreign commerce of the island during  
the residence of the Romans among us. And such must  
have been, in part or in whole, that of our Lancashire  
harbour. This indeed was not merely the port of a  
single county. It was the only commercial harbour  
along the whole line of the western coast, and had no  
rival from the Cluyd to the Land's-End. And the ex-  
ports of the neighbouring country, the lead of Derby-  
shire and the salt of Cheshire, the corn, the cattle, and  
the hides of the whole, must have been all shipped at  
the port of the Ribble. The British dogs were a very  
gainful article of traffick to the Romans <sup>33</sup>. And, as  
all the interiour parts of Britain, then first turned up  
by the plough, would produce the most luxuriant har-  
vests at first, so the whole island freighted no less than  
eight hundred vessels with corn, every year, for the  
continent <sup>34</sup>.

Thus

Sect. II. Thus was a foreign commerce first introduced into Lancashire, where it now flourishes in so vigorous a state, and has branched out to so large an extent. And P. 391. the first scene of its residence was upon the banks of the beautiful Ribble. The voice of tradition asserts, and the discovery of ruins evinces, the village of Ribchester to have been once a very considerable city, superior to Manchester in grandeur, and excelling perhaps all the towns of the north in wealth. And the commerce of the Sistuntian port is the only assignable reason, and that was assuredly the cause, of all its particular importance. It enjoyed the emoluments of an extensive trade. And in consequence of that it flourished.

Ribchester was not, like Freckleton, necessarily planted upon a disagreeable site, that had a large range of marshy grounds on both sides of the river, overflowed with the waters at every tide, and loading the air with exhalations at every recess. Like London, it was fixed at a distance from the sea; and had, like it, the advantage of a fine air, from the dry nature of the soil around it and the lively flow of the river before it. And the Roman town at the Neb of the Nese was only as the Greenock of Glasgow, the Shields of Newcastle, or the Freckleton of Preston, at present. It would be inhabited solely by such, as were retained in the more immediate service of the vessels. And all the traders would reside, and all the commercial business be transacted, at Ribchester. The exports of the neighbouring districts would be carried to Ribchester, lodged in the warehouses of the town, and sent in boats to the

vessels in the harbour. And the imports for them <sup>Sect. II.</sup> would be unshipped in the harbour, sent in boats up to Ribchester; and dispersed from it over the country.

<sup>1</sup> Pliny lib. vii. c. 56.—<sup>2</sup> Herodotus p. 254, West-  
selingius.—The testimony of Herodotus carries the Phœ-  
nician arrival up to 440 or 450. And the progress of  
population in Britain and in Ireland, as it has been al-  
ready and will hereafter be described (b. I. ch. xii.  
f. 4.), forbids it to be carried beyond the year 500.—

<sup>3</sup> Richard p. 50,—<sup>4</sup> Pliny lib. vii. c. 56.—<sup>5</sup> Strabo P. 392,  
p. 265.—<sup>6</sup> Pliny lib. vii. c. 56.—<sup>7</sup> Solinus c. 22.—

<sup>8</sup> Borlase's Scilly Islands p. 53, 58, 59, 62, 63, and 85.—  
<sup>9</sup> Harrison's D. of E. prefixed to Hollingshead's  
Chron. 1586, p. 34.—Herodotus p. 254, and Strabo  
p. 265.—<sup>10</sup> Strabo ibid.—<sup>11</sup> Polybius, who lived about  
180 years before Christ, p. 290 and 291. Amstel. 1670.

—<sup>12</sup> Strabo p. 305.—<sup>13</sup> Ch. iii. f. 3.—<sup>14</sup> Diodorus  
p. 347, and Strabo p. 297. See also Richard p. 4 and  
Cæsar p. 52.—<sup>15</sup> Diodorus ibid.—<sup>16</sup> Camden c. 899,  
467, 411, 211, 237, 199, 205, &c.—<sup>17</sup> Borlase p. 88.

It is Dr. Borlase, who has ascribed this effect to an  
earthquake &c., and endeavoured to fix it at a very  
distant period. But, as I have here shewn the ravages  
of the sea to have arisen from certain gradual and pro-  
gressive causes, so they seem not to have reduced the  
islands to any thing like their present state, till these  
three or four centuries. “The violence of the sea” (says  
Harrison in his Description of England, dated 1586)  
“hath devoured the greatest part of Cornwall and De-

Sect. II. “ vonshire on either side : and it doth appeere yet by good record, that whereas now there is a great distance betweene the Syllan Isles and point of the land’s end, there was of late yeares, to speke of, scarselie a brooke or draine of one fadam water betweene them, if so much, as by those evidences appeereth, and are yet to be seene in the hands of the lord and chiefe owner of those isles” (Prefixed to Hollingshead’s Chron. p. 236, 1586). The distance here betwixt Cornwall and the Sylley isles is certainly contracted too much. But the whole serves strongly to shew the original distance between them to have continued a good while below the Conquest.

<sup>18</sup> Camden c. 47 and 757. — <sup>19</sup> Richard p. 17 and Solinus c. 22. — <sup>20</sup> Itin. Curios. p. 5, 11, and 15. —

<sup>21</sup> Itin. Cur. p. 119, Camden c. 468, and Mona p. 14 and 115. There is also a large plain on the edge of the sea near Hyll-lake in Cheshire, which is equally called Mels or Meals, where general Schomberg encamped his army before it was embarked for the reduction of Ireland, in the reign of King William (Leigh’s N. Hist. p. 29). — And it is this, I suppose, which has given the name of North Meales to ours in Lancashire.

— <sup>22</sup> Strabo p. 265 and Cæsar p. 88. — <sup>23</sup> Diodorus p. 347. — <sup>24</sup> Mela lib. iii. c. 6. — <sup>25</sup> Strabo p. 265, 305, and 307. — <sup>26</sup> Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 33. — <sup>27</sup> Tacitus ibid., Antoninus’s Iter 3 and 4. and Richard’s Iter 15, Notitia, Richard Iter 15, and Ptolemy. — <sup>28</sup> Ptolemy and Richard p. 27. — <sup>29</sup> Antoninus and Richard ibid., Richard p. 27 and 18, and Iter 15. — <sup>30</sup> Pliny lib. xii. c. 8. — <sup>31</sup> Solinus c. 22. And in Bede’s time it was

very plentiful and good, gagatem plurimum optimumque Sect. II.  
 (Hist. lib. i. c. 1). —<sup>32</sup> Martial lib. Spect. Ep. 7. and  
 lib. xiv. E. 99, Camden p. 194, Juvenal Sat. 4, and  
 Camden p. 2. And in Cannigeter de Brittenburgo,  
 Hagæ Comitum, 1734, is this inscription found in Zea-  
 land, p. 14, Deæ Nekalenniæ ob merces rectè con-  
 servatas Secundus Silvanus *Negotiator Cretarius Britan-*  
*nicianus* votum solvit lubens merito. It is also, with a  
 little variation, in Reinesius p. 190 and Gale's Antoni-  
 nus p. 43. —<sup>33</sup> Gratius p. 26. —<sup>34</sup> Camden p. 2.

## III.

THESE were the multiplied advantages, which our British ancestors received from the settlement of the Romans among them. The mechanical arts, that had been previously pursued in the county, were considerably improved. And arts before unknown were brought P. 393. into it. The varied treasures of our soil were now first discovered or better collected. Our societies were combined into cities, our manners refined into politeness, and our minds enlightened with learning. And agriculture, manufactures, and commerce were established among the natives of Lancashire and Manchester.

These were very considerable advantages resulting to both. But they were attended by another which was far superior to them all, and in comparison of which all these united together must absolutely sink into nothing. This is that great and momentous event, the

Sect. III. introduction of Christianity among the Britons. Under the government of the Romans, and speeded by the communication which their empire had, opened betwixt Judæa and Britain, Christianity was introduced among the natives of the north. And the inhabitants of Manchester were now called upon to turn away from that darkness and depravity, in which they had unhappily continued from their first settlement among the woods and mosses of this district.

When, by the dread sin of our great representative in paradise, corruption was first admitted into the spiritual world, ignorance was equally introduced with it into the intellectual. And as the former proceeded in her work, gradually tainting the principles of the moral life, the latter followed regularly behind, and as gradually clouded the powers of the moral discernment. In this state of the human constitution, the heart fuming up to the head, and viciousness in the one diffusing darkness over the other, the original religion of man would soon be coloured with folly. The mind, chained down to sensitive gratifications, and brooding perpetually over sensitive ideas, must soon begin to lose its native elasticity of spirit in the consideration of religion.

P. 394. And many of its ideas concerning it would quickly become material and bodily. The soul of the generality could no longer rise of itself to the contemplation of that world of spirits with which it was so intimately connected; and to the adoration of that spiritual Lord, to whom it was so immediately subjected. It required some corporeal representation, some substituted and imaginary resemblance, to be planted before the eye, in order to assist its ideas

ideas and call out its devotions. Hence the spreading tree was selected and the lofty pillar raised, as an emblem of God and an object in prayer. And the awful Majesty of heaven and earth was regularly worshipped through the medium of one or the other.

On this principle, probably, was the first introduction of images into the services of the Heathens. On this, certainly, was the first admission of them since into the devotions of Christians. And associated vice and folly must soon have molded religion into a more corporeal system. Accustomed to sensible objects in devotion, and weakened in her faculties by sin, the mind would soon lose all the spiritual ideas of worship, and retain only the exterior and bodily. And this we have since seen to have been unhappily the case among the Christians of the Roman church, in a less vitiated state of the human mind, and under the advantage of a greater illumination. Among the gross intellects of the generality, the worship in both soon ceased to be directed to God, and rested entirely in the image of him.

Thus, in all probability, was the adoration of the pillar and the tree brought at first into the world. And the Britons adopted the idolatry. They worshipped the flourishing oak<sup>1</sup>. They adored the massy column<sup>2</sup>.

Matter being once made universally the object of prayer, the mind would naturally wander over the creation, and select such parts of it as appeared most splendid and important. The sun and moon, therefore, would first engage her attention; and for the same reason appear to have been more the general objects of devotion, than any other parts of our material system. The pla-

Sect. III. nets, the elements, and the ocean; mountains, rivers, P. 395. and rocks; imaginary intelligences, and departed spirits; would next rise in succession to the world the senseless deities of abused reason. And all of these probably, and most of them certainly, were the national divinities of Britain<sup>3</sup>.

Amidst these wild wanderings of disordered religion, the two primary institutions of God, priests and sacrifices, and the three principal doctrines of a superintending Providence, the world's final destruction, and the soul's continuance in a future period of existence, were all carefully retained by the Britons<sup>4</sup>. The great incident of the fall occasioned the institutions at first. And it was still pointed out by the observances. If the Deity had not known man to have sunk from his original perfection, and if heathenism had not believed a corruption to have stained his original purity, the former could not have enjoined or the latter have retained these particular observances at all. The appointment of interceding ministers and the establishment of conciliating sacrifices were obviously made on account of, and must as obviously have indicated in their use, some fixed but erazeable taint of impurity in man, and some permanent but appeasable principle of anger in God. And these were retained by all the heathens. But the doctrines of a Providence, the soul's immortality, and the world's destruction, were almost confined to the Britons. And they remained among them peculiar incentives to moral actions. In that vitiated tone of the human mind, however, the united force of all these was weak. The doctrine of

the soul's immortality had the abusive notion of trans-migration engrafted upon it<sup>5</sup>. The priests were polluted with human sacrifices<sup>6</sup>. And, as I have shewed before, the people were guilty of the greatest impurities and even of incestuous mixtures<sup>7</sup>.

But there was something in the Druidical species of heathenism, that was peculiarly calculated to arrest the attention and impress the mind. The rudely majestic circle of stones in their temples, the enormous Crom-lech, the massy Logan, the huge Carnedde, and the magnificent amphitheater of woods, would all very strongly lay hold upon that religious thoughtfulness of soul, which has been ever so natural to man amid all the wrecks of humanity, the monument of his former perfection.

In this state of religion among the Britons of Lancashire, the Romans entered the county. And their own system was fully as wild a combination of human vice and folly, more splendid, and less cruel; yet less retaining the illustrious doctrines of God's superintendance, the æternity of the soul, and the transitoriness of matter; and less adapted to touch the religious string of the heart. But the Britons, on their imitating the manners of their conquerors, would naturally adopt their Theology; and as readily class the Roman with the British deities, as the Romans incorporated the British with their own<sup>8</sup>. This strange conduct of exchanging divinities, so common to them and all the other heathens, was the natural result of a conscious want of satisfaction in a right worship, and a mis-directed desire of supplying the place of the one by multiplying the objects of

Sect. III. the other. And yet it would become subservient to the more ready introduction of both within the pale of the Christian religion. Both must, in consequence of it, have been less addicted to either. And the Britons half-romanized and the Romans half-britonized, in their idolatry, would necessarily lose all that attachment to their national religion which, is merely the servant of prejudice, and yet the strongest barrier generally against a conversion.

P. 397. Under the government of the Druids, the learning of the island consisted in the knowledge of astronomy, geometry, and geography, metaphysics, botany, and mechanicks<sup>9</sup>. And the Britons seem to have acquired a competent degree of acquaintance with all. In mechanicks they were particularly learned, as the great temples of Abury and Stonehenge, and the various Cromlechs and Logans in the kingdom, concur to shew us. They contrived to raise the most enormous blocks of stone, a quarry almost in a single pillar; and to balance them as it were upon air. And all this learning was confined entirely to the Druids<sup>9</sup>. But, on the arrival of the Romans among us, the literature of Italy was carefully cultivated and successfully studied by the Britons<sup>10</sup>. This would greatly affect the dignity of the Druids, and considerably wound the authority of their religion. And it must have particularly taken away all that reverence for the former, which ignorance will ever render to knowledge.

But the construction of Roman cities, and the introduction of Italian manners, directly broke in upon, and by degrees destroyed, the whole wild superstructure of Druidism

Druidism itself. And the religion of the Britons began early to yield to that of their conquerors. Even as high as the first century, those of the north deserted the leading principles of their natural faith, in the form and position of their temples. The original fane<sup>Sect. III.</sup> of the island were all raised in the depth of woods, all constructed with great rude obelisks of stone, and open to the sky above. Such we see on the plains of Wiltshire and the edge of Rollright-heath, in Cornwall, and in Scotland. But, essential as such a form and situation would naturally be supposed to religion in any country that had immemorially retained them, the Britons of Lancashire deserted them before the reign of Trajan. They constructed their temples of hewn stones. They erected them in towns. And they covered them with roofs ".

Thus early did Druidism decline in the island, not rooted up, as has been universally supposed, by the violence of a proscription, but undermined by the progress of Roman learning, and overborne by the irruption of Roman manners. And, in this state of the national faith, Christianity was brought into Britain. This had happily prepared the islanders for a more favourable attention to it. And it was a religion that drew aside the curtain of heathen ignorance, and laid open to the view the genuine nature of God, the genuine nature of man, and the duties and rewards resulting from both. It placed a true and real Divinity at the head<sup>P. 398.</sup> of the creation; a Nature, æternal in duration, unlimited in power, and unconfined by space; an Intelligence, unerringly wise and unweariedly provident;

Sect. III. and a Will, infinitely just, unspeakably kind, and inconceivably pure. And it represented man to have been once exactly fitted to his sphere of action, all moral harmony within, and all natural order without, the central point of this lower creation, and a probationer for a happy æternity in a higher. It then reversed the glafs, and shewed him no longer moving in the orbit of duty, and receiving light and warmth from the Divinity, but voluntarily stooping to sin, and necessarily subjected to wretchedness; his body diseased, his understanding darkened, and the little empire of his passions and appetites all risen in rebellion against his reason. It found his mind perplexed with doubts and his soul distracted with fears, conscious of weaknesses that required the assistance of some kind intercession, and sensible of guilt that needed the aid of some friendly atonement; but vainly casting a wishful eye for one and the other through all the compass of created nature; sinking therefore in melancholy under the weight of sin, and shuddering with horrour at the world unknown. And it displayed this kind interceder, it pointed out this benevolent atoner, to the eye of despairing man; One fully qualified to mediate from the purity of his will, and One absolutely enabled to atone from the dignity of his nature; a man interceding for the ruined manhood, and a God appeasing the offended Godhead; a Friend descending from the throne of Heaven, and a Saviour conducting us to the happiness of it. Such a system of religion, sanctioned as it was by precedent prophecies, and authenticated by accompanying miracles, must carry conviction of its divinity to the soul, melt even the

the obstinacy of prejudice, and proselyte even the pro-<sup>Sect. III.</sup>  
fligacy of guilt.

This then, the genuine religion of our nature, which echoes the sentiments of every feeling heart, and reflects the ideas of every thinking mind, was introduced into Britain as early as the period of the apostles, and some little time before the insurrection of Boadicia in 61<sup>12</sup>. P. 399. And it was favourably received. It was embraced by many. And it was persecuted by none<sup>13</sup>. The Britons and Romans listened to the voice of revelation, and were incorporated into the church of God. And, about the middle of the second century, it reached the confines of Lancashire<sup>14</sup>. The genius of idolatry and the dæmon of impurity fled before it; and the citizens of Manchester commenced the disciples of Christ. Thus was the only religion, that could administer rational comfort to the soul of man, first brought into the parish of Manchester. There has it ever continued since, exalting the intellect and refining the passions, the parent of many a genuine saint. And may it ever continue there, the enlivening ray of our reason, and the purifying principle of our conduct, till creation shall sink in the final flame, and probation be succeeded by the final allotment!

<sup>12</sup> M. Tyrius, *Dissert. xxxviii.* p. 401. Cambridge.—

<sup>13</sup> Gildas c. 2, Lucan. lib. iii. lin. 412, Borlase's Cornwall b. iii. c. 2, and Gale's Antoninus p. 16, 17, and 39.—<sup>14</sup> Gildas c. 2, Borlase c. 16. b. ii, Cæsar p. 121, and Tacitus Agric. V. c. 11.

Sect. III. Mr. Macpherson, in his wild efforts to vindicate his countrymen, in the Britons, from the charge of idolatry, has asserted them not to have worshipped either the heavenly bodies, mountains, or rivers, the wind, or the ocean (Introduction p. 159—166). But that the Britons actually paid adoration to the ocean, to rivers, and to mountains, I have shewn decisively before from Mr. Macpherson's own facts, the recent practice of the Western Islanders, and the express attestation of Gildas (b. I. ch. x. s. 1). And we have as good proof of their adoring the others. It appears from Mr. Macpherson himself, that his countrymen speak to this day with as great respect of the spirit of the sun and the storm, as of the genius of the hill, the fountain, or the sea (p. 163—164). And therefore it obviously follows, that they must have been equal worshippers of all. Mr. Macpherson also shews us in p. 162, and we had been shewn it before in Critical Dissertations p. 314, that there is a large heath in Scotland betwixt Badenoch and Strathspey, on which are many circles of stone, or British temples, and which is therefore denominated Slia-Grhannas or the plain of the sun to this day. And, among the Roman-British remains in the south of Scotland, we have an altar expressly inscribed Apollini Granno or to the British God of the sun (Horseley p. 206). In the Confession of St. Patrick, which he wrote as an epistle to the Irish heathens, he calls them off from their idolatry to the sun, by declaring the everlasting punishment denounced against all who adore it (Ware, Harris, p. 122). And we see the monarch of Ireland, at the same period, swearing to the

the performance of a stipulation by two of the national <sup>Sect. III.</sup> divinities, the sun and the wind (*ibid.*).

<sup>4</sup> Strabo p. 302, A. Marcellinus lib. xv. c. 9, Mela lib. iii. c. 2, Cæsar p. 120, and Agric. V. c. 11.—

<sup>5</sup> Cæsar p. 120.—<sup>6</sup> Ibid.—<sup>7</sup> C. x. f. v.—<sup>8</sup> Horsey, Apollo Grannus p. 206, Belatucadrum Westm. N° 3 and Cumberland 31, Cocidi Cumb. 17, Setlocenæ Cumb. 69, and Matuno, Mogonti, Vitiri, Tanaro, and others—<sup>9</sup> Cæsar p. 120, Mela lib. iii. c. 21, Pliny P. 400. lib. xvi. c. 44, lib. xxv. c. 9, and lib. xxiv. c. 11, and Stukeley's Stonehenge.—<sup>10</sup> Agric. V. c. 21.—<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

—<sup>12</sup> Eusebius Dem. Evang. l. iii. c. 7, Clemens Romanus Ep. 1. f. 5, and Gildas c. 5 and 6 (*Interea*).—

<sup>13</sup> Gildas c. 7 and 8.—<sup>14</sup> Tertullian adv. Jud. tom. 1. p. 212, Lutetiaæ, 1634. Writing about the year 200, he says that many even of the Caledonians were then Christians, loca, Romanis inaccessa, Christo subdita.

#### IV.

A RELIGION like the Christian, that was once firmly footed in the island, was certain to gain speedily upon the remaining heathens of it. And, though it combated the native tendencies of the animal passions, and proselyted only by an appeal to the rational, it actually gained very speedily upon them. Early in the third century, the Roman Britons were generally settled in the profession of the Christian faith <sup>1</sup>. Idolatry, indeed, was still the national religion both of Britons and Romans. But Christian temples were publickly

Sect. IV. publicly opened in the island, and the Christian religion encountered scarcely any of that opposition within it, which it regularly met upon the continent. It suffered no persecution till the conclusion nearly of the third century. And this was immediately succeeded by a considerable encouragement from the worthy Constantius, and by an open profession from the great Constantine. Then was the standard of Christianity displayed victorious over Roman Britain. The ruined churches were repaired, and new ones constructed. The great rites in the œconomy of Christian worship were universally celebrated with devotion. The principal transactions in the history of the Christian redemption were formally commemorated with gratitude. And the church of Britain was established in piety and peace, immediately after the commencement of the fourth century<sup>2</sup>.

When the Christians were first formed into a society, they must necessarily have been subjected to a regimen. And they could not have been left by the Divinity to examine the various models of government, and to settle the best for themselves. He, who molded the frame and therefore knew the springs of the human heart, would never have referred a point to the determination of man, which from the vanity of mere speculation, and the necessary want of sufficient experience, has always been so variously considered by him ; which from the greatness of its object engages most strongly the two ruling passions of the soul, pride and selfishness ; and for both reasons would have embroiled the church with the wildest dissensions,

and

and have torn up the infant establishment from its base. Sect. IV.  
The God of wisdom could not thus have instituted his church in folly. And as a society, as one modelled in wisdom and founded on peace, the individuals of it would be retained in their proper spheres, by a concentrating principle of obedience in some and a regulating power of government in others. But the Christian was not modelled merely like a common society. It had this peculiarity in the frame and texture of its constitution, that it could not have begun to exist at all without a previous platform of government. It began at first by the baptismal administration of the apostles. And the apostolical power of introducing proselytes into it necessarily included in its idea a power of government over them afterwards. The first Christians were actually admitted into the pale by apostolical ministration. And they were actually subjected in it to apostolical government.

The mode of polity, that was delivered to the apostles for the present direction of the church, must have been the same which was established over it in the days of the apostles. The mode, that was either then or afterwards appointed by Christ for the regimen of his church in all ages, must have been the same that has actually continued with it in all. And both were the P. 402. nonarchical or episcopal. This was the form of ecclesiastical government that was begun in the period of the apostles<sup>3</sup>, and has remained ever since in all the Christian nations of the world. No other made its appearance in the church till the year 1541: And no other obtains in it at this moment, except in a few societies

Sect. IV. cieties of West-Europeans, that, compared with the great body of Episcopal Christians over all the world, appear very insignificant and trifling. This was particularly established in Britain. The best platform of polity in itself, it appears to have been early introduced into the island. And the Roman conquests among us were regularly partitioned into dioceses, as early at least as the year 314<sup>1</sup>.

The first bishopricks of the church would naturally be commensurate with the provinces of the state. And the first fees of the bishops would be settled at the capitals of the provinces. In consequence of the former, the bishopricks assumed the general denominations of Provinces and Dioceses. And, in consequence of the latter, they adopted the distinguishing appellations of the provincial Capitals. The first dioceses in Britain, therefore, would be the same as the provinces of the Romans, and must have been, like them, only four in number within the compass of the present England and Wales<sup>2</sup>. And three of these provincial bishops appear as subscribers to the Council of Arles in 314; Eborius Episcopus, de Civitate Eboracensi, Provinciâ Britanniâ; Restitutus Episcopus, de Civitate Londinensi, Provinciâ supra-scriptâ; and Adelphius Episcopus, de Civitate Coloniâ Londinénsum<sup>3</sup>. These were all of them bishops in Britain. And two of them were prelates of the provinces Maxima and Flavia. Eborius had his seat at York, the metropolis of the former. And Restitutus had his residence at London, a city probably superior in grandeur to all the other towns of the latter, and the capital of them and the province<sup>4</sup>.

But where shall we fix the seat of Adelphius, Sect. IV. and where find his *Colonia Londinensium*? The enquiry has long engaged the busy efforts of conjectural criticism: And the difficulty is not yet removed. *Camulodunum*, *Isca Silurum*, and *Lindum* have all three been supposed by different writers to be the particular residence of Adelphius<sup>8</sup>. The interior condition of Roman Britain was very imperfectly P. 403. known to these gentlemen; and a mere community of nature, or the smallest similarity of name, was therefore thought a sufficient ground for the notion. And about 60 years ago, the manuscripts of Ravennas being found to exhibit the appellation of *Colonia Lindum*, and both these reasons uniting together, the hint was eagerly caught by the antiquarians, and the see of Adelphius ever since has been authoritatively fixed at Lincoln<sup>9</sup>. But the *Lindum Colonia* of Ravennas and Richard is not the *Colonia Londinensium* of the council. No authority of manuscripts permits us with these criticks, to change *Londinensium* into *Lindinenium*. Nor do any proprieties of language allow us with them, to deduce either of these words from *Lindum*<sup>10</sup>. And, if both one and the other could be permitted, Lincoln could not be the see of a bishöprick; being in the same province, and consequently in the same diocese, with London.

The genuine name is *Civitas Colonia Londinensium*. And we have no right to suppose a corruption, merely because we meet with a difficulty. The site of the colony must be sought in a region of Britain remote from Lincolnshire, and in a province or diocese distinct from Flavia. And a few observations will lead us to it.

Sect. IV. The second Augustan legion, which was fixed at Caerleon in Monmouthshire, was equally settled at London. And the head-quarters of the corps, once established at the former, were afterwards transferred to the latter. Hence, in the last century, a sepulchral inscription was discovered upon Ludgate-hill, addressed to the memory of one of these legionaries <sup>11</sup>. And Augusta, the name of Caerleon at first, became early in the fourth century the appellation of London <sup>12</sup>. At this city the head-quarters of the legion continued for some time <sup>12</sup>. And while the two or three principal cohorts, that composed the colony, continued resident at it, they might easily acquire the appellation of Londinenses. The legionaries P. 404. might as naturally receive this title, as London obtain that of Legio Augusta. And the Roman troops pretty frequently derived their names from their quarters; six or seven legions of Roman citizens (as I have previously shewn <sup>13</sup>) being denominated from the places of their residence; and a body of Nervii stationed at Dictis being called Dictenses, a detachment lodged at Longovicus being named Longovicarii, and the garrisons of Petriana and Derventionio assuming the titles of Ala Petriana and Derventionenses <sup>14</sup>. Thus distinguished, the principal cohorts were afterwards removed from London to Rhutupæ <sup>15</sup>. And the new colony might properly obtain, and would naturally receive, the denomination of Colonia Londinensium. Rhutupæ was the only one in the kingdom, that could have received this appellation. It was equally a colony of the second legion and the metropolis of the province.

province. And it appears, in the earliest period of Sect. IV. the Saxons, to have been actually distinguished among them by this very denomination; being called London Port and Lunden-wic<sup>16</sup>.

Three bishops, then, were appointed as early as the year 314 over the three provinces of Britannia Prima, Flavia, and our own Maxima. And three fixed their residence as early at the three capitals of the provinces, Rhutupæ, Londinium, and our own Eboracum. The prelate of Britannia Secunda, whose see was at Caerleon the Roman metropolis of Wales, was either absent from the council or subscribed not to the decrees<sup>17</sup>. And Lancashire and the parish of Manchester were now subjected equally to the ecclesiastical and civil supremacy of York.

Thus was Episcopacy established at first coëval with Christianity in Britain. And Christianity and Episcopacy have continued inseparably united among us to the present moment.

<sup>1</sup> Origen on Ezek. tom. iv, Britannia consensit, and P. 405.  
 Gildas c. 7 and 8.—<sup>2</sup> Gildas c. 7 and 8.—<sup>3</sup> Ignatius's  
 Epist. ad Smyrnæos s. 8. and ad Polycarpum s. 6 &c.  
 (Russell). — <sup>4</sup> Sirmondus's Concilia Gallica, Lutetiae  
 1629, tom. I. p. 9.—<sup>5</sup> Richard p. 15.—<sup>6</sup> Sirmondus  
 tom. I. p. 9.—<sup>7</sup> Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 33.—<sup>8</sup> Usher,  
 Selden, Spelman, Stillingfleet, &c. —<sup>9</sup> Gale's Antoninus,  
 Baxter, Carte, &c. —<sup>10</sup> Bede calls the region  
 Lindissis and the town Lindo-colina, lib. ii. c. 16. —  
<sup>11</sup> Wren's Parentalia p. 265. —<sup>12</sup> Marcellinus, lib.

Sect. IV. xxvii. c. 8, Lundinium *vetus oppidum quod Augustam posteritas appellavit.* —<sup>13</sup> Ch. vi. f. 4. —<sup>14</sup> Notitia. —<sup>15</sup> Ibid. —<sup>16</sup> Somner's R. Forts in Kent, p. 9. &c. —<sup>17</sup> Richard p. 22, and Carte p. 213. a Note. And the bishop of Valentia was equally absent, whose seat was at Leucophibia or Whitem in Galloway; a see being established there in the times of the Britons, and Nynias a Briton being bishop of it multo tempore before 565, Bede lib. iii. c. 4. — But how vainly does Mr. Camden talk of a bishop of Gloucester in these days, p. 255; relying in this, as in his account of the Wallbrook and Flamen of London, p. 304—305, on Geoffrey or as redoubtable an authority.

The story of king Lucius also, which has been so greatly canvassed by our historical criticks, is in all probability spurious. And the two coins impressed with a cross and the letters L V C, first mentioned by archbishop Usher, and more or less depended upon by all, are certainly so. Even Usher's manner of mentioning them renders the fact very precarious. He had seen two coins, he says, which were marked with the sign of the cross and literis *obscurioribus quæ L V C' detinare videbantur* (p. 22, 1687). And no British king, as I have already shewn from Gildas, was allowed to mint money after the Roman conquest.

## C H A P. XII.

THE STATE OF THE ROMAN LEGIONS IN BRITAIN  
BEFORE THE DEPARTURE OF THE ROMANS—THE  
GREAT REASONS OF THEIR DEPARTURE  
EXPLAINED—AND THE EXTENT OF  
THEIR EMPIRE, AND DISPOSITION  
OF THEIR FORCES, IN THE  
ISLAND AT IT.

## I.

**I**N the two military municipalities and the seven military colonies, which were planted by the Romans in the island, the lands assigned to the legionaries would regularly descend to their heirs. The very nature of such assignments necessarily requires that they should. And the continuance of the same legions in the same municipalities and colonies for three or four centuries together, which was the case particularly with the sixth, plainly proves that they did. Thus inherited, the lands were virtually military feuds in themselves, and, virtually enjoyed by military tenures from the emperor. And the male descendants of the original legionaries would be all equally legionaries by birth, at the military age would all engage by turns in the duties of the garrison at home, and all by turns be draughted out for the occasional services of the island abroad.

Sect. I. In the revolution of three or four centuries, the males of the municipalities and colonies must have been considerably multiplied, and the number of legionaries in each of them very greatly augmented. And the original three or four thousand perhaps of each garrison, merely by the effect of a successive propagation, and only by a single duplication of the whole in each génération, would regularly have dilated themselves into a very considerable number. Each of the nine cities must have decupled, at least, the full amount of its  
P. 407. original inhabitants, in that long period of time; and the native Romans of the island have been nearly half a million of men, at the conclusion of it. And history remarkably coincides with the reasoning; actually mentioning the Roman inhabitants of the country as a distinct nation of themselves, and considering them equally with the populous communities of the Britons, the Angles, the Picts, and the Scots within it<sup>1</sup>.

In this gradual multiplication of the Roman legionaries, and in that increase of the Roman power which must have been the natural result of it, the necessity of maintaining so many troops in the island would be taken away. And, about the close of the third or commencement of the fourth century, several of the legions would be nearly superfluous in Britain. Hence we find the twentieth Valerian Victorious, the tenth Antonian Augustan, and the seventh Twin Claudian, to have been recalled from the island before the fifth<sup>2</sup>. And we see the first of them, in particular, to have not been recalled till the middle nearly of the fourth, till some time after the date of Antonine's Itinerary and the

the erection of Constantinople<sup>3</sup>. Having very large bodies of native legionaries in her municipalities and colonies, the island was sufficiently able to dismiss three of her five legions, and sufficiently defended against her enemies by the remaining two.

The full legionary complement of men must have been draughted out of the military citizens, that respectively belonged to each of the three legions; have marched away under the legionary standard; and embarked with their wives and children for the continent. The rest remained behind. And these, together with the citizens that were afterwards left by the two other legions upon the final departure of all, would necessarily form a very considerable figure in the island; the amount of their dispersed numbers entitling them to the collective appellation of a people, and the Romans being enumerated as one of the five nations that divided the island betwixt them. Thus Bede declares P. 403. the Divinity to have been worshiped among us in the languages of five different people, the Angles, the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the Latins<sup>4</sup>. And the Saxon Chronicle mentions five *geðeode* or nations to have inhabited Britain, the Angles, the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the Boc-ledene<sup>5</sup>. And, what decisively proves the Boc-ledene and Latini of these histories to be only the original Romans, they both, immediately after the mention of these several nations, endeavour to ascertain the periods of their primary introduction into Britain; and referring the advent of the Britons, Picts, and Scots to some dark and successive æras, they fix the coming of the Angles in the

Sect. I. time of Hengist, and settle the arrival of the Latins in the days of Cæsar<sup>6</sup>.

In this interior condition of the island, Manchester and the county enjoyed in peace all the advantages of the Roman residence among them; employed in the prosecution of commerce, engaged in the profession of Christianity, and blest equally in the feeling of present and the prospect of future happiness. But alas! the period was now hastily approaching, when the general happiness of the island was to cease. War was ready to enter the five provinces of Roman Britain, to deform the scenes of Roman cultivation and British refinement, to ravage her vallies, and deface her cities. And misery was now to be let loose upon the provincials, to distinguish by the test of sufferings the mere votary of the establishment from the cordial embracer of the religion; to give the genuine Christian the honour of retaining his faith, under a weight of discouragements and the establishment of idolatry; and to call out all those stronger graces of the soul, which shoot active through the breast in the trying period of calamity, and exalt the sentiment, invigorate the mind, and dignify the man.

The Caledonians, Saxons, and Scots were all preparing to descend upon Roman Britain, united by the bond of interest, and impelled by the hope of conquest. This was the commencement of an æra of sorrows to P. 409. her. And it is requisite to explain it at large, to remove the cloud which ignorance has raised before the history, to clear away the whimsies which folly has incorporated with the facts, and give a brief authentick detail

detail of the whole. In these momentous incidents the inhabitants of Manchester were very deeply interested. They deprived them of their protectors in the adjoining station of the Castle-field. They broke for ever the chain of connection, that had so long and so happily subsisted between Manchester and Rome. And they brought the ravages of war into our borders, introduced the natives of North-Germany into our parish, and even planted a colony of barbarians from the Elbe in our streets.

<sup>1</sup> Bede's Hist. e. i. l. 1, and Sax. Chron. p. 1.—

<sup>2</sup> Notitia.—<sup>3</sup> Antonini Itinerarium p. 9. Bertius, & Iter Brit. 1, 2, and 12.—<sup>4</sup> Bede's Hist. l. i. c. 1.—

<sup>5</sup> Sax. Chron. p. 1,—<sup>6</sup> Bede l. i. c. 1—15, and Sax. Chron. p. 1—11,

## II.

THE British nations beyond the rampart of Antoninus were sixteen in number. Of these, some were entirely reduced by the Romans. And others remained independent of them.

The former consisted of six tribes, and had about twenty stations among them <sup>1</sup>.—The Horestii lived immediately beyond the wall, in Sterling and Fife, the south-eastern parts of Strathern and Menteith, and that small portion of Perth which is to the south of the Tay ; being bounded by this river on the north, and having the

Sect. II. the towns of Alauna, Lindum, and Victoria in their dominions. But, before the coming of the Romans, they had been attacked and subdued by the Damnii ; P. 410. and their towns are therefore ascribed to the latter by Ptolemy. And, after that coming and the erection of the forts or the wall, they were entirely separated from the Damnii, became a part of the new province Ves-pasiana, and were subjected to the new capital Victoria. The Vecturones resided in the rest of Perth, in all Gawry, Angus, and Merns, and the narrow region of Mar which is to the south of the Dee ; having the towns or stations Orrea, Ad Hiernam, Ad Tavum, Ad Eficam, and Ad Tinam<sup>3</sup> ; and acknowledging the first of them for their capital. The Taixali lived beyond the Dee, in the rest of Mar and in Buchan, owning Devana or Old Aberdeen in the former for their metropolis, and giving their own name to Buchan Nefs or Kinnaird's Head upon their shore. And adjoining to these on the west, along the retreating line of the coast, and separated from them by an arm of the Grampian hills about the north-western limits of Buchan, the Vacomagi possessed the regions of Bamff, Murray, and Inverness to the town of Inverness, nearly the whole of Badenoch and Argyle, and the small part of Braidalbin that lies to the north of the Tay ; having the towns of Tueffis, Rothes upon the Spey in Murray, Banatia or Bane-castle, Varis, Far upon Nairne river, and Ptorotone or Invernefs, in the district of Invernefs, Ad Tuessim, or Ruthven upon the Spey in Badenoch, and Tamea, or Brumchester in Athol<sup>4</sup>. To the south of the Vacomagi were the Damnii Albani, a tribe totally omitted

omitted by Ptolemy, and therefore subjected certainly Sect. II. to another. They were actually subjected to their neighbours the Damnii ; received the former half of their appellation from their conquerors, and the latter from the Alben or heights among which they were situated ; and were therefore considered as consisting of two gentes or tribes, which inhabited the small part of Athol and Braidalbin that is to the south of the Tay, and the remainder of Strathern and Menteith<sup>5</sup>. And, to the south of these, resided the Attacotti in Lenox<sup>6</sup>, equally omitted by Ptolemy, and equally subjected by him to the Damnii<sup>6</sup> ; extending only along the side of the Cluyd and a part of the Roman wall, and having Al-cluith or Balclutha<sup>7</sup>, the fortress upon the Cluyd, Dun-Briton or Dun-Barton, the town of the Britons, for their capital.—Such were the reduced tribes of the north, formed into the province P. 411. of Vespasiana, and owning Ptorotone for their provincial capital<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> The unconquered Britons consisted of ten nations, and inhabited the large remainder of Scotland.—To the south<sup>10</sup> of Murray frith were placed the Proper Caledonians ; possessing the interiour regions of Inverness, the western of Badenoch and Braidalbin, the eastern of Lochaber, and the north-eastern of Lorn ; reaching in a long line across the island from the frith, in the north-east, to the head of the Sinus Lelamnonius or Loch Fyn, in the south-west<sup>11</sup> ; and having all the western parts of their country covered over with the Caledonian forest<sup>12</sup>. But along the eastern coast of the island, and to the north of these and the frith<sup>13</sup>, the Cantæ enjoyed all the eastern parts of Ross : having the Loxa, or frith of

Sect. II. of Cromarty, passing through the center of their possessions; the promontory Penoxullum, Uxel Pen, or high head, the Lofty Bank of Ptolemy, and the present Tarbeath Ness, on one side of them; and the Abona, or frith of Dornock, to the north of them. Beyond this were the Logi or Maritime People, inhabiting the sea-coast of Sutherland, and reaching to the Ila or Ale in Cathness. And the Carnabii inhabited the rest of Cathness; being the most north-easterly of all the Britons, and having the two promontories of Viruedrum and Berubium <sup>14</sup>, the Dungsby and Ness Heads, to the east and north-east of them. To the west of these were the Catini, spreading along the whole sea-shore of Strathnavern to the west; as to the south of the Catini, in the interiour districts of Strathnavern and Sutherland, and adjoining on the east to the Logi<sup>15</sup>, were the Mertæ. And the Catini had been subdued by the Carnabii, who thereby extended their dominions along all the northern shore of the island, from the Ila on the south-east to the promontory Tarvidum, Orcas, or Faro Head on the north-west <sup>16</sup>, and to the Nabæus, or Loch Affynt, beyond it to the south-west. To the south of the Nabæus, the Carnonacæ extended along the shore of Ross; having the Promontorium Ebudum, or headland of Row Stoir Affynt, on one side of their country,

P. 412. and the Volsas Sinus or Loch Breyn to the south of it. Bounded by this on the north and the Itys on the south, a river placed by Ptolemy two degrees to the south of the former, and probably the Sheyl in Invernesshire, were the Cerones; as the Creones were limited by the Itys on the north and the Longus or Loch Long on the south;

south, a current placed by the same writer three or four <sup>Sect. II.</sup> degrees to the south of the Itys<sup>17</sup>: these two nations possessing all the remainder of Ross, Inverness, Lochaber, and Lorn, and the whole of Argyle<sup>18</sup>. And the Epidii inhabited the little residue of Scotland, the narrow chersonesus that is formed by the ocean on the west and Loch Fyn on the east, which contains Cantire and Knapdale, and terminates in the Epidium Promontorium or Mull of Cantire<sup>19</sup>.

All these, in the days of Agricola, were united together under one monarch<sup>20</sup>. And he was a sort of dictator; one king exalted into a pre-eminence over the rest upon the alarming invasion of the country by Agricola, and, like those that had been previously created in the south, invested with a military authority over them. This office was instituted at first among the southern Britons, upon the first invasion or subsequent encroachments of their first common enemies, the Belgæ; and was therefore instituted probably, after Divitiacus had obtained the command of all Belgick Britain<sup>21</sup>. And the Belgæ under him appear to have gained considerable advantages over the disunited Britons<sup>22</sup>. The Cantii, who had previously seized the south of Middlesex and the fortress of London<sup>23</sup>; and who, as Novantes or new-comers in Middlesex, had their fortress distinguished by the appellation of Tre-Novantum or the town of the Novantes<sup>24</sup>, and afterwards received or assumed the title of Tripobantes; at that period in all probability, enlarged their dominions, as I have formerly shewn their possessions to have been extended, over all Middlesex and all Essex. The Regni, who were

Sect. II. were previously confined, I suppose, to the county of <sup>P. 413.</sup> ~~Suffex~~, now pretty certainly obtained their dominions in Surry. And it was at this period most probably, that the Damnonii subdued the Carnabii of West-Cornwall, and the Cimbri of North-Cornwall and South-Somersetshire; and that the Proper Belgæ conquered the Segontiaci in the contiguous parts of Hampshire and Berkshire, and reduced the Hædui in the north of Somersetshire, the north-west of Wiltshire, and the south-west of Gloucestershire. Such successes would greatly alarm the native Britons, and strongly influence them to copy the beneficial practice of their enemies, and unite, like them, under a common governor. And, accordingly, we soon find all the southerly tribes combined together, and jointly prosecuting the war against the Belgæ<sup>25</sup>. Their head was the famous Cassi-vellaunus or Cassi-bellinus<sup>26</sup>, the Belin or king of the Cassii<sup>27</sup>. He was created the Pend-ragon, or commandant of the kings. The whole military authority over the combined tribes was committed to him. And, under his conduct, the war was carried on with vigour<sup>28</sup>. The Cassii recovered all the country which had been seized by the Trinobantes, and which had pretty certainly been taken away from themselves; the whole tribe of the latter being reduced into subjection<sup>29</sup>. And the Bibroces recovered from the Regni what as probably had been their own before, the county of Surry; even pursued them into Suffex, and absolutely subdued their kingdom<sup>30</sup>. These victories would strongly recommend the new model of government to the Britons. And, at the second and more formal descent of Cæsar upon the island, both

the

the Britons and Belgæ very prudently united together; Sect. II. and the pendragon of the latter became for a short time the dictator of the former <sup>31</sup>.

Nor was this dignity merely temporary, created for the emergency and expiring with it. It continued for life in the possessor, and seems even to have descended at his death to his male heir. And Cunobeline and Caractacus, the two successors of Cassivelaun in the monarchy of the Cassii, seem also to have been his heirs in the pendragonship of the island. This the first P. 4<sup>14</sup>. introduction of a mint from the Roman continent by Cunobeline, though, as king of the Cassii, he lay at a distance from the southern coasts <sup>32</sup>; the intimate acquaintance of the Romans with his name and capital, though with relation to them he was only an inland monarch <sup>33</sup>; and the appellation of Cunobeline, Cuno Belin signifying the Head King; all concur to render highly probable with respect to the former. And Caractacus, the Caratacus of one of his own coins, was undoubtedly the pendragon of the Britons: as is equally implied in the name Cara-tac, Cara-tog, or Head King <sup>34</sup>; is expressly asserted by Tacitus and himself; and demonstrated by the whole tenour of his history <sup>35</sup>. Thus also, as I shall afterwards shew, the same office was lineally hereditary among the Britons of Caledonia and the Britons and Belgæ of Ireland <sup>36</sup>.

Among the Caledonians, the dignity was created upon the advance of the first common enemy which had hitherto attacked them, the Romans under Agricola. Then, wisely providing against the danger by an union, all the unconquered tribes of the island solemnly

Sect. II. lennly confederated together, and put themselves under the authority of Galgacus<sup>37</sup>. This was the monarch of one of them, superior to the rest in descent and valour<sup>38</sup>, and perhaps, as pendragon, denominated Gal-gac, Gal-cog, or the king of the Britons. And in his family the office most probably remained till the middle of the second century. Then the royal house of the Creones was nominated to it. And Tremor, Trathal, Comhal, and Fingal succeeded each other as regularly in the publick command, as in the private monarchy.<sup>39</sup>

All these tribes were first called by the general appellation of Caledonians or Caledonian Britons<sup>40</sup>. And the name was not derived, as the learned Mr. Macpherson imagines<sup>41</sup>, from the words Cael and Don, signifying the Gauls of the Hills. It was the denomination of the inhabitants, equally in the Lowlands of the eastern coast and on the mountains of the northern and western Highlands<sup>42</sup>. Originally peculiar to the tribe that ranged in a line across the island, and inhabited the hills in common with the Cerones, the Creones, the Carnonacæ, and others; it was derived from the great forest that swept across all the western parts of their country. And the forests of Britain in general, and the three greatest of them in particular, were distinguished among the natives by the simple denomination of Caledon or woods<sup>43</sup>. Residing almost entirely within the precincts of an extensive wood, the nation was originally denominated the Caledonii or Woodlanders, and communicated its name to all the tribes that lay north of the friths. But this appears not to have been done, as

P. 415.

we have previously seen the name of one nation imparted Stet. II.  
to another in South-Britain, by the reduction of the  
people in war. It was occasioned, as is most probable,  
and as we shall hereafter find the case equally in Ire-  
land, merely by the superiority of the Caledonians to  
the rest of the tribes in extent of dominion and  
greatness of power. And the rest were as certainly  
inferior to the Caledonians in political dignity, as  
they were partakers with them in their national appella-  
tion <sup>44</sup>.

These about the close of the second century, when  
all the regions of Sterling and the eastern coast were  
now no longer dispevered from Caledonia, were very  
naturally distinguished by the two general appellations  
of Caledonians and Mætæ <sup>45</sup>. The latter inhabited  
the level country that lay nearest to the wall of Anto-  
ninus <sup>46</sup>, possessed equally without doubt the lowlands  
of the eastern coast <sup>47</sup>, and were therefore denominated  
the Fir-Mæ-at or the Men of the Plains <sup>48</sup>. And the  
former resided in the mountains behind and on one side  
of them <sup>49</sup>. Among these, the tribes that lay along the  
western shore were called from their situation Deu-  
caledones, the Water or Maritime Caledonians; and  
gave to the neighbouring sea the name of the Deu-  
caledonian Ocean <sup>50</sup>. And both the former and the  
latter were afterwards known by the one comprehen-  
sive appellation of Picts, which commenced about the  
conclusion of the third century <sup>51</sup>, and finally super-  
seded the rest.

This has been invariably supposed by the criticks to  
be derived from the Roman language <sup>52</sup>, and was

Sect. II. equally supposed by the more ignorant even among  
P. 416. the Romans<sup>51</sup>. But the word appears to be as little

Italian in its origin, as the same appellation of *Pictones* in Gaul, *Pict* in the singular forming *Pict-i* or *Pict-on-es* in the plural; which is equally seen in the names of *Allo-Brig-es* or *Brig-ant-es*, *Frif-ii* or *Frif-on-es*, *Cang-i* or *Cang-an-i*, *Cen-i* or *Cen-on-es*, and a thousand others. And the name was not known only to the Romans and Roman Britons. It was used equally by the natives themselves. Nor was it confined to the Caledonians. It was the appellation equally of them and the Irish. The name is therefore Celtick, and was pronounced by the Britons of Scotland and Ireland *Fict* or *Vict*; the Caledonians calling themselves the *Fict-ied*, and the Hibernians denominating themselves the *Gathel Fict-ied*. And it is derived from the British *Guith* or *Guift*, the divorced or separated. Hence arose the appellation of *Vectis* or the divided region, for the isle of Wight<sup>52</sup>. And, as the labials *M*, *B*, *P*, *V*, and *F* are constantly substituted one for another in the British language<sup>53</sup>, *Guift* would be variously formed into *Mict*, *Bict*, *Pict*, *Vict*, and *Fict*. Thus we have *Vent* in the *Venta Icenorum* of Norfolk; *Gwent* in *Caer Gwent*, the antient *Venta Silurum*; *Wint* in *Wintchester*, the *Venta Belgarum*; *Bint* in the *Bindogladia* of Ravennas, the *Venta-Geladia* of Richard, and in *Vindovium* or *Bintchester*; all four exactly the same word with *Pend* or *Pent* a head. Thus also we have *Aval* an apple; *Papyrus*, *Papir*, or *Pabaur*; *Populus*, *Poball*, or people; *Durobrovis* or *Düroprovis*; *Menapia*, St. David's, or *Menevia*; *Brydhain*, *Frydhain*, or *Prydhain*

for

for Britain ; and an infinite variety of others <sup>55</sup>. And Sect. II. names like these, signifying a separated people, were very common among the Celts in general. They appear (as I have already shewed <sup>56</sup>) even in the name of the island, Britain, and in the original and general appellation of the isles around it, which were equally denominated Britains ; and are also found in Vectis and Mi<sup>t</sup>is, the particular names of one or two of them, in the Vecturiones of Scotland, the Pictones of France, and the Vettones of Spain <sup>57</sup>. And the name of Fict or Pict in our own country, being common to the Caledonians and the Irish, must have been derived from some separation that was equally common to them both ; and therefore denoted that most striking circumstance in the general condition of both, their disjunction from the tribes of the Roman Britons, and their position without the pale of the Roman-British empire <sup>58</sup>.

It is one of the most singular events in the Roman annals, and reflects a peculiar honour upon the bravery of the Britons, that, in the long course of more than three centuries, the Romans could never make an entire conquest of the island. And this was the only country in the world, I think, in which the Romans reduced the greatest part of the natives, and yet were for ever beat off by the small remainder of them. The conquest was attempted by some of the greatest generals that were produced in the armies of Rome, was prosecuted with the greatest vigour and conduct, and yet was never accomplished. All the efforts of the Romans, however successful at first, were finally baffled by the Britons. And they still lived independent in

Sect. II. their mountains, and looked down with pity upon the rest of their brethren, stooping to the power and adopting the manners of Italy. When the gallant Silures had submitted to the Romans, and the equal highlands of Wales had suffered stations to be planted among them; when even the hills of Athol and the mountains of Badenoch had been scaled by their armies and traversed by their roads; still, with a resolute obstinacy of soul, the Caledonians maintained their liberty, at last drove the enemy back to the friths, and even pursued them into the provinces.

When Agricola invaded the country, though he came recent from the conquest of Half-Britain, they opposed his advance and encountered his forces. And though he came attended by a gallant fleet, and at the head of a powerful army; though he gained more than one victory over them, and spent no less than three years in his expedition; they bravely persisted in their own defence, and defeated all his attempts to reduce them <sup>59</sup>. They were not a number of independent tribes, unconnected by union and uninformed with vigour. They were embodied together under one government, and their operations were actuated with one spirit. But, when Lollius entered the country, they seem to have been distracted with dissensions. The dictatorship was then vacant. And the kings contended for the honour <sup>60</sup>. In these circumstances, defeat naturally succeeded to defeat; the Romans gained greatly upon the country of Caledonia; and the six whole tribes of the Vecturiones, Taixali, Vacomagi, Damnii Albani, Horestii, and Attacotti were fully reduced by Lollius <sup>61</sup>.

The fever of private ambition, however, was extinguished by the fear of publick destruction. The monarch of the Creones, distinguished from the rest by the only success in the war, was nominated to the pendragonship <sup>Sect. II.</sup> <sup>92</sup>. And it was this event, in all probability, which preserved the remainder of Caledonia from the Romans. They had now victoriously carried their arms to the great chain of mountains, that commences near the town of Dunbarton, ranges across the western side of Athol and Badenoch, and extends beyond the frith of Murray. And this, as the natural and long-continued barrier of the unconquered tribes of Caledonia, does for twenty miles together, in the regions of Badenoch and Athol, retain the significant appellation of Drum-Uachtur, the ridge of the Vecturiones, or the mountains of the Picts, to the present period <sup>P. 419. 93</sup>. Having, therefore, conquered all the eastern and north-eastern shore, and successfully reduced the mountaineers of Athol and Badenoch; Lollius would not have discontinued his conquests, if he had found it practicable to extend them. He had made a progress, which none of the Romans had made before him; and would eagerly wish to crown his successes, and compleat his glory, by the absolute and entire subjection of the stubborn islanders. And the Caledonians afterwards burst from their mountain-barrier, and attacked the Romans in their new conquests, with so much vigour and perseverance; that, in less than thirty years after the expedition of Lollius, the latter were entirely beaten out of them all, and forced to shelter themselves behind the wall of Antoninus <sup>94</sup>.

Sect. II. The next and last considerable attempt to reduce the Caledonians, was made by the Roman emperor in person, by Severus, and the collected power of the empire under him. And they were then subject to Fingal, the Vind-Gall or Head of the Britons, the son of Comhal, the grandson of Trathal, and the great grandson of Trenmor; a dictator fit to be the antagonist of Severus, and a chief worthy to be the hero of Ossian<sup>61</sup>. The emperor passed the two walls<sup>62</sup>, and entered the country. The Caledonians hung unseen upon his army during its march, attacked him vigorously at every advantageous turn, and frequently drew his parties into artful ambuscades<sup>63</sup>. And, thus continually harrassed by a bold and watchful enemy, the Romans were reduced to considerable distress. They were obliged to put all their sick and wounded to the sword, that they might not fall alive into the hands of the enemy. And they lost no less than fifty thousand men in the expedition<sup>64</sup>. Obliged at last to cede a considerable tract of ground to the Romans for peace, the country undoubtedly that had been previously subdued by Lollius<sup>65</sup>; all the P. 420. Maeatae immediately revolted, were immediately joined by the Caledonians, and the Roman power was once more confined to the five provinces<sup>66</sup>. The Romans re-entered the country, conducted by Caracalla, and commissioned to exterminate the natives<sup>67</sup>. Fingal met him in the county of Sterling, and on the banks of the Carron<sup>68</sup>. The Romans entered into treaty with the Caledonians. They agreed to resign up the contested dominions. And they retired to the south of the wall<sup>69</sup>.

Thus

Thus unsuccessful were all the attempts of Rome to Sect. II.  
subdue the Britons of the north! And thus did they  
rise more vigorous from every repeated attack! But  
they had no sooner dislodged the Romans from their  
settlements on the north of the rampart in the year 170,  
than they attacked them behind it, passed it, cut the  
Romans in pieces, and ravaged the province of Va-  
lenzia <sup>74</sup>. Finally repelled, they ever persisted in their  
efforts; still ready to break into the province, and eager  
to retaliate upon the Romans and their Britons all the  
woes which they had brought on Caledonia <sup>75</sup>. And,  
the moment the Roman forces relinquished the island,  
they even broke through both the walls, they even in-  
vaded both the provinces, and instantly began the com-  
plicated calamities of Roman Britain.

<sup>74</sup> Richard p. 30.—<sup>75</sup> Iter 9 and 10 of Richard, and Ptolemy.—<sup>76</sup> Iter 9 of Richard.—<sup>77</sup> Iter 10 of Richard.

—<sup>78</sup> Infra Tavum (Richard).—These Damnii Albani (as Richard says) were intra lacuum montiumque claustra planè reconditæ—<sup>79</sup> Unde [a civitate Alcluith] linea ad ostium fluminis Vararis ducta terminos ostendit [Vespasianæ], Richard p. 15. And Ptolemy carries the Damnii from the Selgovæ on the south-west to Victoria (or the Tay) on the north-east, and from the Gadeni to the Epidii; giving them all the intermediate regions, that belonged to the Horestii, Attacotti, and Damnii Albani.

—<sup>80</sup> Richard p. 31, Bede l. i. c. 1, and Offian vol. I. p. 130.—<sup>81</sup> Richard's map of this province is very inaccurate. The Vecturonæ, or Venricones (as he there

Sect. II. strangely denominates them), are carried to the south of the Tay and into the country of the Horestii, and in such a manner as if they had the latter in subjection at P. 421, the Roman invasion. But the Horestii were then subject to the Damni. And, as these are placed immediately to the south of the Tay, in the little portion of Braidalbin and in Strathern, the Albanii are translated to the west of Loch Fyn and into Argyleshire. And Vespaiana and the Attacotti are carried quite up to Loch Fyn.—Dr. Stukeley has in some measure corrected the two first mistakes, retained the third, and fallen into others. The *Vespaiana quæ et Thule* of Richard's map he has strangely mistaken, annexing the *Quæ et* to Taixali, and with both forming *Taixali Aquæ*. And the Vacomagi he has brought to the south of the Tay.—  
Richard p. 32.—<sup>10</sup> Richard says, ad *Occidentem Vararis*; here, and here only, copying the grand mistake of the Romans as to the position of Scotland, which has put their east for the real north, and their west for the real south, their north for the real west, and their south for the real east. And, instead of a course right northerly and southerly, the Romans have given Scotland a direction full eastern and western. This is the case with Ptolemy in particular. And thus Strabo p. 307 places Ierne or Ireland to the north of Britain; and the Scotch writers have idly caught at the position, in order to make Ierne stand for the north of Scotland (see Mr. Macpherson vol. I. *Offian* p. 5, &c.). See this, since the first edition of this work, more fully discussed in *The Genuine Hist. of the Britons asserted*, p. 225—260.—But since the first edition I have also observed,

observed, that Richard in p. 32 places all the Caledo-  
nians ultra Vararem, making this river by mistake to  
flow to the west as well as north of the Roman conquests.  
And this, I think, reconciles him with himself better  
than the supposition before. But let the reader judge.  
Either way there is a mistake in him.—<sup>11</sup> Ptolemy and  
Richard p. 15.—<sup>12</sup> Ptolemy places the Caledonian wood  
*vrisp*, above, or to the north, that is, to the west, of  
the Caledonians; and Richard in a part of their coun-  
try. It was therefore in the western part. And Pto-  
lemy places the Vacomagi *vrisp* or above, to the west of,  
the Caledonians. But, this *vrisp* should be *vris*, below,  
or to the east of, the Caledonians. And Horfeley and  
Bertius, who both read the former, both translate it as  
if it was the latter.—<sup>13</sup> Ptolemy.—<sup>14</sup> Ibid. Richard  
has confounded these two promontories, and made them  
one and the same.—<sup>15</sup> Ptolemy.—<sup>16</sup> Ibid.—<sup>17</sup> Ibid.—

<sup>18</sup> The lands of Etha, the country upon Loch Etyff or  
Etha in Lorn, were in the dominions of the Creones  
and the kingdom of Morven (Ossian vol. I. p. 168 and  
170). And Richard accordingly says p. 15, Unde [a  
civitate Alcluith] linea ad ostium fluminis Vararis ducta  
terminos ostendit [Vespasianæ]. The Creones there-  
fore came up nearly to Dunbarton, as the Attacotti  
inhabited only the banks of the Cluyd, Clottæ ripas  
incolebant (p. 31). And, as the river Longus was the  
southern boundary of the Creones, it must be the pre-  
sent Loch Long; and Ptolemy's Epidian promontory  
and river Longus have been transposed. Such transpo-  
sitions we find in the fourteenth and twelfth Iter of An-  
toninus, compared with the eleventh of Richard.—

<sup>19</sup> Richard's

Sept. M. <sup>19</sup> Richard's map is again inaccurate. The Proper Caledonians are all fixed to the north of the Varar, when they all lay to the south of it. The Carnabii are extended over all the north of the island, and the Catini placed to the south of them. And the Creones and Cerones are transposed. Ptolemy has equally transposed them. But Richard's description is more authentick than either.—Dr. Stukeley's map has repeated all these mistakes, and added others; omitting also all the dotted boundaries of the kingdoms. The Caledonian wood, to which Richard's map seems not to have given any particular position, the Dr. has planted to the north of the Proper Caledonians, and even to the west of the Mertes and Logi. The Carnabii are placed to the south of the river Nabæus. And the Carnonacæ, who should begin immediately to the south of the Nabæus, are pushed down to the south of the Straba fluvius, and have the whole body of the Catini interposing betwixt them and their northern barrier.—<sup>20</sup> Agric. V. c. 25 and 29.—<sup>21</sup> Cæsar p. 34, Britannæ imperium.—<sup>22</sup> Richard p. 50.—<sup>23</sup> Ptolemy.—<sup>24</sup> Richard p. 25.—<sup>25</sup> Cæsar p. 88 and Richard p. 50.—<sup>26</sup> Richard p. 25.—<sup>27</sup> Richard p. 51: and Nennius calls him only Rex Bellinus (c. 14).—<sup>28</sup> Cæsar p. 88—<sup>29</sup> Cæsar p. 92.—<sup>30</sup> See b. I. c. iii. f. 2.—<sup>31</sup> Dio p. 227 and Cæsar p. 88.—<sup>32</sup> B. I. c. ix. f. 1.—<sup>33</sup> Suetonius in Calig. and Dio p. 957 and 959.—<sup>34</sup> See ch. ix. f. 1. before.—<sup>35</sup> Tacitus Ann. l. xii. c. 33, Caraftaci—quem extulerant ut cæteros Britannorum imperatores preemineret. And Caraftacus says of himself c. 37, that he was plurius gentibus imperitatem.—<sup>36</sup> See a mistake there-

fore in Richard p. 7.—<sup>37</sup> Agric. V. c. 25, 27, and 29. Sect. II.  
—<sup>38</sup> Ibid. c. 29.—<sup>39</sup> See hereafter.—<sup>40</sup> Agric. V. c. 25  
and Martial 1. x. E. 44.—<sup>41</sup> Ossian pref. to vol. II.  
p. iv.—<sup>42</sup> Agric. V. c. 25, Richard p. 29 and 30, and P. 423.  
Dio p. 1280. See also s. 4.—<sup>43</sup> Richard p. 18 and 26.  
—<sup>44</sup> Minores populi, Richard p. 32. See s. 4. And  
thus the Israclites have been long denominated Iudei or  
Jews, from the name of their principal tribe.—<sup>45</sup> Dio  
p. 1280.—<sup>46</sup> Ibid.—<sup>47</sup> The real name of the people  
that merely lived next to the wall of Antoninus, was  
Morexii and Attacotti. But the Mæatae were several  
nations, Dio p. 1280, *οὐδεχωριποιον*.—<sup>48</sup> See Genuine  
Hist. of the Britons asserted, p. 136—137.—<sup>49</sup> A. Mar-  
cellinus 1. xxvii. c. 8. and Ptolemy. So Dubana, now  
the river Ban in Ireland. So several places in Wales  
are denominated Deu-draeth or the sea-beach. And  
the inhabitants that range successively along the shore  
of Scotland, in Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, are  
sometimes called by the Highlanders An Duaghæl, and  
their country is sometimes denominated An Duaghæl-  
dock, to the present moment (Crit. Diff. Pref. p. viii).  
—As Dy or Du are the same word in the Celtick pro-  
nunciation, Ammianus's Di-caledones is a good reading  
and needs no alteration.—The prefacer to Dr. Mac-  
pherson's Critical Dissertations (p. viii) derives Deu-  
caledones from their northerly position, as Baxter had  
before derived it from their southerly. But their pos-  
ition was neither in the north nor south of Caledonia.  
They lay along the western coast, as appears from the  
western ocean being denominated the Deucaledonian in  
Ptolemy.—<sup>50</sup> Eumenius's Paneg.—<sup>51</sup> Except by Verste-  
gan,

Sect. II. gan; who ridiculously derives the word from the Saxon Fight and Fighter, and by Dr. Macpherson in Crit. Diff., who idly deduces it from Pi&thich a robber, p. iii. —<sup>52</sup> Claudian, Nec falso nomine Pictos. But in c. vii. s. 5. I have already shewn the Provincials to have retained the custom of painting, as well as the Caledonians. —<sup>53</sup> Nennius c. 2. —<sup>54</sup> Mona p. 261 and 262, and Lhuyd p. 19 and 20. —<sup>55</sup> See Lhuyd ibid. —<sup>56</sup> Ch. i. s. 1. —<sup>57</sup> See Pliny l. iv. c. 16, Albion ipsi nomen sicut cum Britanniae vocarentur omnes. —<sup>58</sup> And the name P. 424, was accordingly communicated at last to the inhabitants of Vespasiana, as they were, in the third and fourth centuries, equally with the other Caledonians without the pale of the Roman empire: See b. II. c. 1. — Such of the Caledonians as we now call Highlanders, still denominate themselves by the equivalent appellation of Al-ban-ich, the inhabitants of the Alb-an or Hills. The whole body of the Caledonians was also denominated Cruithnich (Baxter and Mr. Macpherson's pref. to vol. II. p. v.). And this name has been generally derived from Craith, a cut or wound; the Picts making little incisions in their bodies in order to impress the painting, Ferre picta genas (Claudian). But it has been recently interpreted to signify the eaters of corn or wheat; the Picts being strangely supposed to live only along the eastern coast of Scotland, and to be distinguished from the other Caledonians by the knowledge of agriculture (Mr. Macpherson, ditto). Both etymologies are obviously absurd. The provincials (as I have shewn c. vii. s. 5) equally painted their bodies as the Picts. And the Picts actually lived on the western and

and northern coast, as well as the eastern. And, what- Sect. II.  
ever is the etymon of the name, the appellation was  
not peculiar to the Caledonians. One of the divisions  
of the Irish tribes was sometimes denominated Crutheni ;  
and Cruthen makes Cruthen-ich in the relative ad-  
jective. And in Ware's Patricii Opuscula, London  
1656, their country is said to be in the northern parts  
of Ulster (p. 114). The name, I believe, is nothing  
more than Cruth-en-i or the Harpers, by which all  
the Irish have been distinguished in the title of Ci-  
tharaedi; the harp having been as much the national  
instrument of musick to all the Britons, as it is the na-  
tional ensign of the Irish at present.—<sup>59</sup> Agric. V. c. 24,  
25, 26, and 29.—<sup>60</sup> Ossian V. ii. p. 194.—<sup>61</sup> Richard's  
Itinerary.—<sup>62</sup> Ibid. Fingal was the great grandson of  
this pendragon by Trathal and Comhal, and, when he  
was yet young, opposed Caracalla in 211 (p. 87. v. i).  
Allowing therefore 20 years or thereabouts to Fingal,  
and 30 to Comhal and as many to Trathal, we come  
very near to the only period of the second century, in  
which *the strangers* or Romans invaded the country, P. 425,  
and fought many battles with the Caledonians (v. ii.  
p. 195 and 196). And, as Comhal died the day on  
which Fingal was born (v. i. p. 114), the requisite de-  
duction of 9 or 10 years from Comhal's 30 will bring  
us exactly to the period.— Selma was his capital, and  
planted in the wood of Morven (Ossian vol. II. p. 195).  
And a large part of Lochaber is named Morvain to this  
day. As king of the Creones, he was called sovereign  
of Selma or Morven. As pendragon, he was called  
Tremor, Teyrn or Tren Mor, the Great King. See  
Offian

Sect. II. Ossian vol. I. p. 132 and 222 &c.—<sup>63</sup> See preface to Crit. Diff. p. ix. for the fact. And the bounding line of Caledonia and Vespaſiana is drawn by Richard exactly along this chain of hills: Vespaſiana autem ab Eboracis Aſtuario ad civitatem Alcluith, unde linea ad oſtium fluminis Vararis ducta terminos oſtendit (p. 15).—<sup>64</sup> Richard p. 52.—<sup>65</sup> Oſſian v. I. p. 87 expressly mentions Fingal to have opposed Caracalla in 211. And, as Fingal had then been in Lochlin and loved Agandecca, the first of his loves (p. 42), and therefore prior to Comala (p. 87), he must have equally opposed Severus, who came into Britain only in 208 (Richard p. 52).—<sup>66</sup> Herodian I. iii. c. 48.—<sup>67</sup> Dio p. 1281 and Herodian ibid.—<sup>68</sup> Dio p. 1281.—<sup>69</sup> Richard p. 53, Maeatis, and Richard p. 32, Citerior pars [Caledonise] alio atque alio tempore ab illis [Romanis] poſſeſſa fuit, and Dio p. 1282.—<sup>70</sup> Dio p. 1283.—<sup>71</sup> Ibid.—<sup>72</sup> Oſſian v. I. p. 92.—<sup>73</sup> Oſſian v. I. p. 91 P. 426. and 92, Dio p. 1287, and Richard p. 53.—<sup>74</sup> Richard p. 59, Dio p. 1209 and 1260, and Herodian I. iii. c. 46.—<sup>75</sup> Ammianus I. xxvii. c. 8. and Richard p. 53.

## III.

THE Saxons have been derived by our historians from very different parts of the globe, India, the north of Asia, and the forests of Germany. And their appellation has been equally referred to very different causes, the name of their Indian progenitor, the place of their disposition of their Asiatic fathers, and the

short hooked weapons of their warriours. But the real origin of the Saxons, and the genuine derivation of their name, seem clearly to be these.

In the earlier period of the Gallick history, the Celtæ of Gaul crossed the Rhine in considerable numbers, and planted various colonies in the regions beyond it<sup>1</sup>. Thus the Volcæ Tectosages settled on one side of the Hercynian forest and about the banks of the Neckar, the Helvetii upon another and about the Rhine and Maine, the Boii beyond both, and the Senones in the heart of Germany<sup>2</sup>. Thus also we see the Treviri, the Nervii, the Suevi, and the Marcomanni, the Quadi, the Venedi, and others, in that country; all plainly betrayed to be Gallick nations by the Gallick appellations which they bear, and all together possessing the greatest part of it<sup>3</sup>. And, even as late as the conclusion of the first century, we find one nation on the eastern side of this great continent actually speaking the language of Gaul, and another upon the northern using a dialect nearly related to the British<sup>4</sup>. But, as all the various tribes of the Germans are considered by Strabo to be γυναικεῖοι Γαλαξῖαι or genuine Gauls in their origin<sup>5</sup>, so those particularly that lived immediately beyond the Rhine, and are asserted by Tacitus to be indubitably native Germanæ<sup>6</sup>, are expressly denominata Γαλαξῖαι or Gauls by Diodorus, and as expressly declared by Dio to have been distinguished by the equivalent appellation of Celtæ from the earliest period<sup>7</sup>. And the broad line of nations, which extended along the ocean and reached to the borders of Scythia, was all known to the learned in the

Sect. III. the days of Diodorus by the same significant appellation of Γαλαῖαι or Gauls<sup>8</sup>.

Of these, the most noted were the Si-Cambri and Cimbri<sup>9</sup>; the former being seated near the channel of the Rhine<sup>10</sup>, and the latter inhabiting the peninsula of Jutland<sup>11</sup>. And the denominations of both declare their original; and shew them to have been derived from the common stock of the Celtæ, and to be of the same Celtick kindred with the Cimbri of our own Somersetshire, and the Cymri or Cambrians of our own Wales. The Cimbri are accordingly denominated Celtæ by Strabo and Appian<sup>12</sup>. And they are equally asserted to be Gauls by Diodorus; to be the descendants of that nation which sacked the city of Rome, plundered the temple of Delphi, and subdued a great part of Europe and some of Asia<sup>13</sup>.

Immediately to the south of these were the Saxons, and extended from the isthmus of the Chersonesus to the current of the Elbe<sup>14</sup>. And they were equally Celtick in their origin as their neighbours. They were denominated Ambrones as well as Saxons<sup>15</sup>; and, as such, are included by Tacitus under the general appellation of Cimbri<sup>16</sup>, and comprehended in Plutarch under the equal one of Celto-Scythæ<sup>17</sup>. And the name of Ambrones appears particularly to have been Gallick; being common to the Saxons beyond the Elbe and the Ligurians in Cisalpine Gaul, as both found to their surprize, on the irruption of the former into Italy with the Cimbri<sup>18</sup>. And, what is equally surprizing, and has been equally unnoticed by the critics, the Welsh distinguish England by the name of

Loegr or Liguria even to the present moment. In that Sect. III.  
irruption these Saxons, Ambrons, or Ligurians composed a body of more than thirty thousand men, and were principally concerned in cutting to pieces the large armies of Manlius and Cæpio<sup>19</sup>. Nor is the appellation of Saxons less Celtick than the other. It was originally, I think, the same with the Belgick Sueffones of Gaul; the capital of that tribe being now entitled Soissons by the French, and the name of the Saxons pronounced Saisen by the Welsh, Sason by the Scotch, and Sassenach or Saxonach by the Irish. And the Sueffones or Saxones of Gaul derived their own appellation from the position of their metropolis on a river, the stream at Soissons being now denominated the Aisne and formerly the Axon<sup>20</sup>; Uess-on or Axon importing only waters or a river, and S-ueff-on or S-ax-oid the waters or the river. The Sueffones, therefore, are actually denominated the Uessones by Ptolemy. And the Saxones are actually entitled the Axones by Lucan<sup>21</sup>.

These, with their brethren and allies the Cimbri, having been more formidable enemies to the Romans by land, than the Samnites, Carthaginians, Spaniards, Gauls, or Parthians<sup>22</sup>, in the second century applied themselves to navigation, and became nearly as terrible by sea. They soon made themselves known to the inhabitants of the British isles by their piracies in the northern channels<sup>23</sup>, and were denominated by them Lochlyn or Lochlynach; Lucd Lyn signifying the people of the wave, and the D being quiescent in the pronunciation<sup>24</sup>. They took possession of the Orkney islands, which were then merely large shoals of sand,

Sect. III. uncovered with woods, and overgrown with rushes<sup>15</sup>. And they landed in the north of Ireland, and ravaged the country<sup>16</sup>. Before the middle of the third century they made a second descent upon the latter, disembarked a considerable body of men, and designed the absolute subjection of the island<sup>17</sup>. Before the conclusion of it, they carried their naval operations to the south, infested the British channel with their little vessels, and made frequent descents upon the coasts<sup>18</sup>. And in the fourth and fifth, acting in conjunction with the Picts of Caledonia and the Scots of Ireland, they ravaged all the eastern and south-eastern shores of Britain, began the formal conquest of the country, and P. 429. finally settled their victorious soldiery in the kingdom of Lancashire and the houses of Manchester<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar p. 123 and Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 18.—

<sup>2</sup> Cæsar and Tacitus ibid., Livy l. v. c. 34, and Ptolemy. Tacitus therefore is inconsistent with himself, in thinking the Germans to be unmixed c. 2 and 4.—

<sup>3</sup> Tacitus c. 28, 38, 42, and 46.—<sup>4</sup> Tacitus c. 43 and 45.—<sup>5</sup> P. 444.—<sup>6</sup> C. 28.—<sup>7</sup> Diodorus p. 350 and Dio p. 216. See also Dio p. 704.—<sup>8</sup> P. 355. See also Plutarch's life of Marius p. 495. v. II. Bryant. And Dio p. 1179 speaks of the Germans by the appellation of the Celtæ beyond the Rhine.—<sup>9</sup> Strabo p. 451.—

<sup>10</sup> Strabo p. 444 and 447, and Cæsar p. 129.—<sup>11</sup> Strabo p. 449.—<sup>12</sup> P. 449 and 450. And Appian says, that all Italy was greatly afraid of the Celtæ, till the Romans under Marius defeated the Cimbri; p. 1196;

Amstel. 1670.—<sup>13</sup> Strabo p. 355.—<sup>14</sup> Ptolemy.—<sup>15</sup> Aμ. Sect. III.  
 Έπωνες in Plutarch and Αμέρονες in Dio; Nennius (Ber-  
 tram p. 140 and 143).—<sup>16</sup> C. 37, compared with Plu-  
 tarch p. 506 vol. II. concerning the defeat of Manlius  
 and Cæpicio.—<sup>17</sup> P. 405 compared with p. 501.—<sup>18</sup> Plu-  
 tarch p. 506. — Ambron in Celtick signifies fierce;  
 Hence Ambrones lupi in Gildas c. 13. And so also  
 Ambrones by itself in Bonifacii epist. i. p. 79. tom.  
 13. of Maxima Bibliotheca Patruni. But this is only  
 the secondary idea of the word, as Camber latterly  
 signified a thief and Briganticus a turbulent man. The  
 original word is probably the same with Camber; the  
 aspirate being omitted as in Umbri or Cimbri &c.,  
 and Camber making Cambri or Cambrones in the plu-  
 ral. And, as I have shewn, they are actually called  
 Cimbri by Tacitus.—<sup>19</sup> Plutarch p. 506.—<sup>20</sup> See Cæsar  
 p. 34.—<sup>21</sup> Ptolemy p. 53. Bertius, and Lucan l. i. 423.  
 —<sup>22</sup> Tacitus c. 37.—<sup>23</sup> Ossian v. I. p. 6. —<sup>24</sup> Ibid.  
 They are therefore called the sons of ocean (vol. I. p.  
 17). And the Norwegians and Danes in the ninth  
 century were called Lochlonnae or marinets (Ware's  
 Ant. by Harris p. 60). So in Ossian vol. I. p. 3, 7,  
 and 14.—<sup>25</sup> Ossian vol. I. p. 14. and Solinus c. 22.—  
<sup>26</sup> Ossian vol. I. p. 17.—<sup>27</sup> Ossian vol. I. p. 26 and 16.  
 Fingal was then a middle-aged man, all his sons being  
 adults.—<sup>28</sup> Eutropius l. ix. c. 21.—<sup>29</sup> A further account  
 of the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes may be expected in  
 b. II. c. vi. s. 2, and still more in b. III. c. 1.

## IV.

P. 430. CONFEDERATED with the Picts and Saxons was another nation, that equally occasioned the Roman departure from Manchester, and equally caused the calamities of Roman Britain. These were the Scots, a people that has been wildly derived from Scythia, Spain, and Caledonia; and whose real origin and history have for a century and a half engaged two nations of contending antiquarians in war, and hitherto remain involved in the obscurities of tradition and the dreams of conjecture. But their origin, I presume, may now be clearly ascertained. And their history, I think, may now be authentically detailed.

The isle of Ireland was inhabited by eighteen tribes; by one upon the northern and three on the southern shore, seven on the western, six on the eastern, and one in the center.

Along the eastern coast and the Vergivian or Internal ocean, were ranged the Damnii, the Voluntii, and the Eblani, the Caucii, the Menapii, and the Coriondii. The first inhabited a part of the two counties of Antrim and Down, extending from Fair-Head, the most north-easterly extremity of the island, to Isamnum Promontorium, or the point of Ardglass haven in the county of Down<sup>2</sup>; and having the Logia or Lagan, which falls into Carrickfergus Bay, within their possessions, and Dunum or Down-Patrick for their capital. The Voluntii possessed the coast from the point

of

of that haven to the river Buvinda or Boyne, the re-Sect. IV.  
mainder of Down, the breadth of Ardmagh, and all  
Louth; having the Vinderus or Carlingford river in  
their dominions, and the town of Laberus near the  
river Deva, Atherdee in the county of Louth, for  
their metropolis<sup>3</sup>. And the Eblani reached from the  
Boyne to the Læbius, Læv-ui, or Liffy; residing in  
East-Meath, and in the large portion of Dublin county  
which is to the north of this river; and acknowledging P. 431.  
Mediolanum, Eblana, or Dublin for their principal  
town<sup>4</sup>. The Caucii spread from the Liffy to the  
Letrim, the Oboca of the antients; had the rest of  
Dublin county, and such parts of Wicklow as lie to  
the north of the latter; and owned Dunum or Rath-  
Downe for their chief city. The Menapii occupied  
the coast betwixt the Letrim and Cancarne-point, all  
the rest of Wicklow, and all Wexford to the point;  
their chief town, Menapia, being placed upon and to  
the east of Modona, Slanus, or Slane<sup>5</sup>. And the Co-  
riondii inhabited at the back of the Caucii and Menapii,  
to the west of the Slane and Liffy, and in all Kildare  
and all Catherlogh; being limited by the Boyne and  
Barrow on the west, the Eblani on the north, and the  
Brigantes on the south.

Upon the southern shore and along the verge of the  
Cantabrian ocean, lay the Brigantes, the Vodiæ, and  
the Iberni. The first owned the rest of Wexford and  
all Waterford: extending to the Blackwater, Aven-  
More, or Dabrona on the south-west; having the great  
mouth of the Barrow within their territories, and Bri-  
gantia, Waterford, or some town near it, for their

**Sect. IV.** first city ; and giving the name of Brigas to the Suir or Swire, their limitary stream on the north, and the appellation of Bergie to their own part of the county of Wexford. The Vodiae possessed the shire of Corke from the Blackwater to the Bar, the river of Kinsale, and the Dobona or Dubana <sup>6</sup> of the ancients ; and affixed the name of Vodium Promontorium to the point of Balycotton island <sup>6</sup>. And the Iberni inhabited the remainder of Corke, and all that part of Kerry which lies to the south-east of Dingle sound ; having Rufina or Ibaune for their capital, the Promontorium Austrinum or Miffen-Head about the middle of their dominions, and the river Ibernus or Dingle sound for their northern barrier ; and leaving their names to the three divisions of Ibaune, Beare, and Iveragh <sup>7</sup>.

Upon the western shore of the island and along the Great Britapnick or Atlantick ocean, were the Lucanii or Lucenii <sup>8</sup>, the Velaborii, and the Cangani <sup>9</sup>, the Auterii, the Nagnatae, the Hardinii <sup>10</sup>, and Venic-nii. The Lucenii inhabited the peninsula of land that lies along the river Ibernus or Dingle sound, and perhaps some adjoining parts of Kerry. The Velaborii ranged along the small remainder of the latter, and over the whole of Limerick to the Senus or Shannon ; having the Durius or Casheen flowing through their dominions <sup>7</sup>, and Regia, Limerick, or some town near it <sup>7</sup>, for their metropolis. And the latter was probably that city near Limerick, the site of which is still famous, and retains the appellation of Cathair or the fortress ; and where the remains of streets, and other marks of a

town, may yet be traced<sup>1</sup>. The Cangani lived in the county of Clare: Macolicum near the Shannon<sup>11</sup>, perhaps Feakle or Melick, being their principal town; a headland in the Bay of Galway, near Glaniny, being denominated Benisamnum Promontorium; and the adjoining isles of Arran called Insulæ Canganæ<sup>1</sup>. The Auterii were settled in the county of Galway; winding along the deep recess of the Sinus Ausoba or Bay of Galway; stretching towards the north as far as the Libnius, or the river that bounds the shire in part; and possessing the small portion of Mayo, which lies to the south of it. And these were subject to Auterium, antiently Aterith, and now Athenree; and have left their name to the division of Athenree. The Nagnatæ occupied the rest of the large county of Mayo, all Sligo and all Roscommon, all Letrim as far as Logh Allin on the south-east, and all Fermanagh to Balyshannon and Logh Erne; being bounded by the Rhebius or river of Balyshannon, and the Lake Rhebius or Logh Erne; having a deep bay, called Magnus Sinus, that curves along Mayo, Sligo, and Letrim counties; and acknowledging Nagnat, Necmaht, or Al-necinah<sup>12</sup>, the town of the Nagnatæ, for their capital. And the Hardinji and Venicnii were confederated together under the title of the Venicnian nations, extended from Balyshannon to the North-Cape, and possessed all Donegal, except the two whole divisions of Rathoe and Enis-Owen, and the eastern part of Killmacrenen. The Venicnii lay along the immediate margin of the shore, giving name to the Promontorium Venicnium or Cape Horn, and to the Insula Venicnia or North-Arran Island. And their metropolis Rheba was

Sect. IV. seated upon the lake Rhebius, and in the country of the Hardinii on the south-east<sup>7</sup>.

Upon the northern shore and along the margin of the Deucaledonian ocean, were only the Robogdii; inhabiting the rest of Donegal, all Derry, and all Antrim to the Fair-Head and the Damnii; and giving their own name to the former and the division of Raphoe. And they had the rivers Vidua or Ship-harbour, Argita or Logh Swilly, Darabouna or Logh Foile, and Banna or Ban, in their territories; and acknowledged Robodium, Robogh, or Raphoe, for their chief city.

The central regions of the island, all Tyrone, the remainder of Fermanagh and Letrim, all Monaghan, and the rest of Ardmagh; all Cavan, all Longford, and all West-Meath; all the King's and Queen's county, all Kilkenny, and all Tipperary; were planted by the Scoti. The Shannon, Logh Allin, and Logh Erne were their great boundaries on the west; the Barrow, Boyne, and Logh Neagh on the east; the Swire and Blackwater on the south; and a chain of mountains on the north. And the two greatest of their towns were Rheba, a city seated, like the Rheba of the Venicnians, upon the lake and river Rhebius, but on a different part of them, and somewhere in the north of Cavan; and Ibernia, a town placed a little to the east of the Shannon, and somewhere in the county of Tipperary<sup>13</sup>.

When the Belgæ first landed upon the southern shore of Britain, about three hundred and fifty years before the Christian æra, and took possession of Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, and Devonshire; the Britons,

Britons, dislodged from their antient settlements, trans-<sup>Sect. IV.</sup> ported themselves into the neighbouring isle of Ireland <sup>14</sup>. That fine country was then entirely unoccupied, and now first received a colony of inhabitants into it <sup>15</sup>. And it was denominated Er-in, Ier-ine, Ier-ne, or Ivernia. Er, Ier, or Iver signify the western ; and Inis, Ine, or In import the island <sup>16</sup>. And the colony was afterwards augmented by the addition of other Britons, equally dislodged from their native regions by the Belgæ, and equally repairing to the wilds of Ireland. This second embarkation was made about two hundred and fifty years after the first, when Divitiacus reduced the Bibroces of Surry, the Cassii of Middlesex and Essex, the Segontiaci, Hædui, Cimbri, and Carnabii <sup>17</sup>. And both of them, flying equally from the dominion of the Belgæ, <sup>P. 434.</sup> very naturally incorporated themselves into one society ; and were as naturally distinguished among the Britons by one denomination, the very apposite name of the Scuitæ or Scots, the Wanderers, or the Refugees <sup>18</sup>.

The next colonies, that were established in Ireland, were in all probability the Damnii and Robogdii ; the name of the former tribe plainly marking its origin from the Damnii of Valentia, and both pretty certainly crossing the strait from Galloway and Cantire. The Epidii and Damnii of Britain lying the nearest of any nations to the isle of Ireland, they must therefore be supposed, after the extraordinary embarkation of the Scots, to have been the first that made settlements within it. And the Damnii, who once owned all the sea-coast from the borders of Galloway to the wall of Antoninus, and had even subdued the Horeftii, Attacotti, and Albani beyond it,

must

Sect. IV. must equally (I apprehend) have possessed all Galloway west of the Dee, and have willingly resigned it up to the tribe of the Nou-ant-es or New-comers. This appears from its appellation to have been a nation of foreigners, and from its situation was in all probability derived from the neighbouring shore of Ireland. And it was very probably a body of the Irish Damnii, that, upon some encounters betwixt the Robogdii or Voluntii and them, had retired from the island about the period of Agricola's entrance into Lancashire, had recrossed the sea to the directly opposite coast of Galloway, and been allowed to settle peaceably in the country. They were nearly related enough to the Damnii, to be admitted into a participation of their territories; and had been absent long enough from the country, to be denominated Nouantes or strangers. And, what seems a striking confirmation of the opinion, an Irish monarch appears expressly from Tacitus to have been expelled from the island just at that period, and in some internal commotion of it; who was treated with a very artful friendliness by Agricola, and gave the Romans a very just and encouraging information concerning the weakness of the state; and with whom Agricola had  
P. 435. once resolved to make a descent upon Ireland, and to land in the region of the Damnii <sup>19</sup>.

These two embarkations were most probably caused by the mere populousness of Britain, crowded as it now began to be with inhabitants, and by the mere vicinity of Ireland, very plain as it appeared to the eye from the shores of Cantire and Galloway. But the succeeding ones were occasioned by the wars of the Britons among

among themselves, and of the Romans against the Britons and Belgæ. And to these causes are the settlements of most of the colonies expressly attributed by Richard <sup>20</sup>.

About half a century before Christ, as I have formerly shewn, the Carnabii of Cheshire entered the kingdom of the Ordovices, and subdued the county of Shrewsbury. And on this invasion the Ordovices, that lived in the north of Shropshire and the neighbourhood of Mediolanum, seem to have passed over into Ireland, and to have retained the memorial of their origin in the name of their capital; Eblana or Mediolanum <sup>21</sup>. The former name evidently affixed the new appellation of Eblani to the tribe. And the latter seems as evidently to point out the old appellation of its city. Thus the colony of the Cantii, which spread from Trinovantum or London over the rest of Middlesex and the whole of Essex, carried the name of their original city in their denomination of Trinovantes. The Rhemi of Gaul in the neighbourhood of Bibrax, coming over in a colony to Britain, and settling in the south-eastern parts of Berkshire, constructed the new city of Bibrac-te, and formed the new tribe of the Bibroc-es. And we shall soon find the Menapii and others to have come into Ireland from particular towns in Britain, and to have retained the name of their original city in the title of their tribe. And the Guetheling or Watling Street was probably constructed about fifty or sixty years after the settlement of these Mediolanenses on the coast, and carried from the Rhutupæ of the Cantii to the Segontium of the Ordovices, in order to traffick with these the transplanted Ordovices of Ireland.

Sect. IV. About the commencement of the Christian æra, the  
P. 436. Brigantes of Yorkshire and Durham, as I have shewed  
before, invaded the counties of Cumberland, West-  
moreland, Lancaster, and Chester; and three new tribes  
seem to have settled in the island. These are the Vo-  
luntii, the Caucii, and the Coriondii. The name of  
the Voluntii is an indication of their origin. And that  
of the Caucii seems equally to indicate theirs, and to  
note their derivation from Lancashire. When the name  
of a town on the western coast of Britain is retained  
in the appellation of a tribe upon the opposite shore of  
Ireland, we must naturally conclude the one to have  
given denomination to the other. And that the nations  
of the Caucii and Menapii were not, as Richard asserts  
them to be, two colonies from the Cauchi and Menapii  
of Germany, we have positive reasons to conclude.  
History fully assures us, that all the tribes of the coun-  
try came originally from Britain <sup>22</sup>. All those of its  
eastern shore, in particular, must therefore have come  
from the opposite coast of our island. And we find the  
names of places in the regions which both of them pos-  
sessed, clearly and invariably Gallick; as Modona,  
Slanus, Clone-gall, and Scare-walch, Ballinacur, Bal-  
linderry, Rathdurm, and Kilkenny, Kilnemore, Balli-  
foyle, Kilrush, Killenagh, and Balageene, among the  
Menapii; and as Dunum the metropolis and Oboca the  
limitary stream, Rathmines, Rathgar, Rathfarnum, and  
Dundrum, Killininy, Kellgobbin, Killternan, Rath-  
Downe, Killcooli, and Killtemen, among the Caucii.  
The Caucii and Menapii, therefore, are as little Teu-  
tonick in their origin as the Damnii and Voluntii; must

as well as they have descended from the opposite shore Sect. IV. of Britain; and, like the Bibroces of Berkshire, are derived from some town of a similar appellation with themselves. And the Caucii must be derived from the Coccium of the Sistuntii, a town the only one upon the coast that bears a similar name, and a tribe the most likely of all others to have settled immediately to the south of the Voluntii. Thus did Lancashire send P. 437. a colony of her children, to plant the eastern shore of Ireland <sup>23</sup>. And the Coriondii (I apprehend) were derived from the neighbourhood of that county, the Carnabii of Cheshire. The name might be written either Carnabii, Corinavii, or Coriondii. And the last is exactly the same with the first, and only Diu substituted for Ab or Av <sup>24</sup>.

Thus far the Britons had lived unmixed with the Belgæ in Ireland, now consisted of seven tribes, and possessed all the northern, eastern, and central parts of the island. And, so generally inhabited, it naturally received an appellation additional to its original name. That was not, like this, deduced merely from its position with respect to our island; but was borrowed from the one common denomination of its possessors. And it was the appellation of Inis-Fael or Inis-Fallin <sup>25</sup>, the island of the Fael, Faell-in, or Gauls. The F, V, and W in the Celtick language are equivalent letters <sup>26</sup>; and Fael, Vael, and Wall all equally express the one denomination of the Britons. Among the Welsh we have Cad-Fael-Hydr or Cad-Wal-adr, Hy-Fael or Ho-Wel, and Diofna-Fael or Dyfn-Wall <sup>27</sup>. The channel betwixt France and England is denominated by a writer of the eighth century only, Sinus Vallicus or the Gal-

Sect. IV. Gael of the continent being so frequently denominated Galatæ by the antients.

Gathel, Gael, and Galath, therefore, are all one and the same varying appellation. And it signifies merely the Woodlanders. Guylh-t and Guel-z import among the Irish, the Welsh, and the Armoricans, a man of the Guylh, Guel, or wood; all of them the evident remains of the antient Guidhil or Guethel, a wood. Coil, the same with the Guylh of the Welsh, and answering to Gael and Cael, is the customary term for the same object among the Irish and Highlanders at present. And Gulad occurs in Gulad-ædh, the Welsh for a forester, and Kelyd appears in Kelydhon, the British for a forest; corresponding to Galath and Galat, and signifying with them a wood. The celebrated appellations therefore of Gathel-i, Gall-i, Galat-æ, Calet-es, An-Calit-es, and Celt-æ signify merely a thicket. And bearing the Celtick prefix before them, which is used in the history of Ireland to the present period, as Fir-Bolg and Fir-Damnon; and which must have been previously used in more than half the national appellations of Britain, as Fir-Cant, Fir-Trinovant, Fir-Carnab, Fir-Sistuntiu, and various others; all these names imported merely the Man of the Thicket. But, in one national denomination of the very same origin, the termination is a little different, because the word is in the plural number. And Kelyd or Caled lengthens into Kelyd-on or Caled-on woods. Thus Caled-on became the antient appellation for all the forests of the Gatheli and Galli in Britain. Thus Fir-Caledon or Caledon-es was equally the antient name for the Gathel and Gael of the Highlands.

**Highlands.** And Caledonius was occasionally among the Romans a denomination equivalent to Britannicus, <sup>Sect. IV.</sup> <sub>P. 400.</sub> and applied equally with it to all the **Gathel** and **Gael** of the island <sup>31</sup>.

But about forty-five years after the Christian æra, when Vespasian attacked the Proper Belgæ, Durotriges, and Damnonii, fought thirty battles with them, and took more than twenty of their towns <sup>32</sup>; many of the Belgæ would naturally put to sea from the coasts of Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Somersetshire, and Cornwall, and steer for the southern shore of Ireland <sup>33</sup>. That the Belgæ or Fir-Bolg were settled in several colonies upon the south of the island, is sufficiently evident on the face of the Irish history. And that they came generally from the coasts of Devonshire, Cornwall, and South-Somersetshire, or the extended dominions of the Damnonii, is equally evident from their other appellation of **Fir-Damnon** among the Irish.

The first body of the Belgæ that landed in Ireland, was a small embarkation from Inis-huna <sup>34</sup>. And this is supposed by Mr. Macpherson to be a part of the great island of Britain, and somewhere upon the south-western coast of it. But, as the name shews it to have been an isle, so the circumstances mentioned concerning it mark it to have been a considerable one at the point of Cornwall. It is plainly implied to have been eminent for its arts of navigation; and expressly declared to be separated from another land by a narrow Frith, and to stand at the meeting of two seas <sup>34</sup>. And it was therefore one of the Silley islands, probably the **Cassiteris** of the Phoenicians and **Silura** of Solinus, and

Sect. IV. the isle that I have shewn to have once existed near the western point of Cornwall, divided from it by a dangerous strait, and since broken into a variety of islets and rocks<sup>35</sup>. The embarkation was made under the conduct of Larthon, the sovereign of the Damnonii or the subject Cassiterides<sup>36</sup>. And the Vodiæ, as we shall directly perceive, composed the first colony of the Belgæ in Ireland.

These seem to have been immediately followed by the Velaborii, the Lucenii, and the Ibernii; all equally Belgick as the Vodiæ, and with them the only Belgick colonies that appear to have landed on the island. The Velaborii, Velaberi, or Veliberi<sup>37</sup> (so differently is their name written), were, I suppose, the Damnonian inhabitants of Voliba or Voluba on the river Vale in Cornwall<sup>38</sup>; Volub-er-ii signifying the men of Voluba. And the Lucenii seem to have been the Damnonian inhabitants of Cenia in the same country<sup>39</sup>; Lucd Cenia importing the people of such a town, and the D (as I have shewn) being quiescent among the Irish. The Ibernii were probably derived from the Ibernia of Ravennas and the present Beare in Dorsetshire, and appear accordingly to have had a town denominatated Ibernia or Beare in Ireland. And the Vodiæ, therefore, must have been the Belgæ that came from the Silky island.

Within five or six years after these settlements of the Belgæ in the south, upon the invasion of the Brigantian territories in the year 51 by Ostorius, a body of the Brigantes took shipping on our western coast, and pushed over to the shore of Ireland<sup>40</sup>. And with them

them embarked a party of Cangi or Cangani<sup>39</sup>; the Sect. IV. Cangii of our Sistuntians, as appears plainly from their other appellation of Concangii<sup>40</sup>, a name appropriate to the capital town of the Sistuntian Cangii in Britain, and retained by some of its inhabitants on their removal into Ireland. Thus the Britons of Lancashire and South-Westmoreland, who had already planted a colony upon the eastern shore of the island, now settled another on the western. The former coast was nearly occupied from end to end. And the Brigantes entered upon the only vacant portion of it. In this situation, the Concangii were forced to cross the central parts of the island and the dominions of the Scoti, P. 442; and settle upon the western sea. And with both, or about the same period, came perhaps the Auterii.

About the year 76 probably, when Julius Frontinus subdued the Silures and their subject Dimetæ, the Menapii landed in Ireland; the Dimetæ in the neighbourhood of Menapia or St. David's passing over to the opposite coast, and erecting another Menapia in the county of Waterford. The Coriondii were in all probability possessed of the country before, as the Concangii in 51 found the eastern shore already occupied. And the Menapii probably attacked the inhabitants, dislodged them from the sea, and drove them beyond the Slane. There, confined too much by the Barrow on the west, they extended themselves to the north, and stretched along the back of the Liffy to the Boyne.

And about 140 probably, certainly before the period of Ptolemy's geography, upon the expedition of Lollius into Caledonia and his great successes in Vespa-

Sect. IV. siana, the Venicnii and Hardinii came into Ireland, and settled upon the north-western coast. The latter were derived, as their name suggests, from Arden, Harden, or Caledonia \*\*. And both were evidently of the same kindred, being called together the two Venicnian tribes, and being both subject to their one metropolis in the country of the Hardinii.

In this state of the island, the Belgæ being confined by the Brigantes on the north-east, the Scoti on the north, and the Cangani and Auterii on the north-west; and the only un-occupied part of the coast lying directly beyond both the last, in Mayo, Sligo, Letrim, Roscommon, and Fermanagh ; their colonies, more populous than the others (as the sequel of the history demonstrates), soon began to raise commotions in the island, and seized the large vacant extent of the western shore \*\*. They must therefore have crossed the Shannon, have entered the country of the Cangani and Auterii, and subdued them both. If they had not, they could not have proceeded to the north, and have P. 443. settled, under the abovementioned appellation of Nagnatæ, in the long extent of the abovementioned counties. And, if the other tribes had not seen some instances of the old encroaching spirit of the Belgæ in Ireland, slow as the Britons ever were to unite in a common cause, they would not have combined so readily and so heartily, as we shall soon see them, against the Belgæ.

In this new state of the island, the latter possessed the whole counties of Cork, Kerry, and Limerick, in Munster ; those of Clare, Galway, Mayo, Sligo, and Roscommon,

Roscommon, and the greatest part of Letrim, in Connaught; and a part of Fermanagh in Ulster: and the former occupied the rest of Ulster, all Leinster, and a part of Munster. And the barriers betwixt them were the river of Blackwater, the mountains of Tipperary, the course of the Shannon, and the length of Logh Erne. The two nations were now pretty equally opposed, the Britons enjoying most land, and the Belgæ being most populous. And a general war immediately ensued. The same chief, who had conducted the new colony across the Shannon, was still the active sovereign of it <sup>12</sup>. The war commenced, therefore, within a few years after that expedition; and, as Trathal the son of Trenmor was then upon the throne of the Creones <sup>13</sup>, it began about the year 160 or 170. and it lasted with many interruptions and various success for more than a century.

The Belgæ were much better fitted for war, than the Britons. They were subject to one governor, a descendant from the original conductor of the Belgæ to Ireland, the hereditary monarch of the Nagnatae, and the hereditary dictator of the tribes <sup>14</sup>. "The chiefs of the south gathered round the echoing shield of Crothar, the king of Alnecma, and the first of the race of Bolga <sup>15</sup>." And Alnecma or Nagnata is therefore, in the geography of the cotemporary Ptolemy, distinguished above all the towns of land by the peculiar character of *πολις επωημα* or illustrious city. The Britons (the Hardinii, the Sienii, and the Robogdii, pretty certainly) were defeated by the Belgæ; and the country was overrun <sup>16</sup>.

Sect. IV. They applied for assistance to Caledonia, the land "of  
P. 444. "the race of their fathers "<sup>47</sup>." It came, Conar, the  
 second son of Trenmor, headed the troops <sup>48</sup>. And the  
 invaders were repelled <sup>49</sup>.

The advantages of the Belgick form of government had now been experimentally perceived, and an immediate union appeared necessary among the dispersed tribes of the Britons. "The nations gathered in Ullin" or the county of Down <sup>50</sup>, and resolved to appoint a pendragon. And they unanimously nominated Conar to the office; a chief nearly allied in all probability to the Venicnian and Robogdian monarchs <sup>51</sup>, a hero full of glory for his former as well as late successes in war <sup>52</sup>, and the only dictator, by whom they might be sure to derive succours from Caledonia on any future emergency. Conar was invested with a military authority over all the tribes of the Britons. And the office was descendible to his heirs. The Britons, like the Caledonians before them, were embodied together under the one Celtick appellation of all their nations. And they were also incorporated, like them, under the more distinguishing denomination of their principal tribe. By the former they were called Gathel, Cael, or Gauls, as I have already shewn. And by the latter they were entitled Scuite or Scoti, as the progress of the history and the accounts of Bede inform us. Temora, a town in the kingdom of the Eblani, and the present Terah in East-Meath, was made the capital of the confederated tribes. And it is expressly denominated by Bede the metropolis of the Scots <sup>53</sup>,

Thus

Thus united, they were soon attacked by the Belgæ, Sect. IV.  
Success attended the invasion. And the Britons were reduced to great distress. Conar was obliged to solicit aid from Caledonia. It came. The tide of success was turned. The Belgæ were defeated. And the country was recovered<sup>54</sup>.

Unlucky as these expeditions had hitherto been, the aggressors were actuated with too encroaching a spirit to be long at peace. Conar died soon after the last expedition. Cormac his son succeeded him. And he was now aged<sup>55</sup>. The Belgæ marched with a large army into the country of the Britons, conducted by their king Colculla. Cormac in vain resisted his efforts. He was greatly distressed. He applied to his second cousin Fingal, the young sovereign of Morven and pendragon of Caledonia. And Fingal sent him a body of forces. The auxiliaries and the principals were both defeated by the Belgæ. The young monarch came over in person. His army consisted only of three hundred men. He was joined by a new one of the Britons. And at the head of both he attacked the victorious Belgæ. They were not able to withstand him. Colculla was slain by the hand of Fingal. And all his army was dispersed<sup>56</sup>.

This blow was a severe one to the Belgæ. It damped their enterprizing spirit for many years. And the Britons, content to repel the invaders, and the infant weakness of many of their tribes requiring the repose of peace, carried not the war after them into the Belgick countries. The truce appears to have lasted for the remainder of the reign of Cormac, through the

Sect. IV. whole reigns of Cairbre and Artho, his successors<sup>57</sup>, and for some time during the minority of Cormac the second, the son of Artho. But, recovered by so long a peace and actuated by their former spirit, the Belgæ made another effort about the year 260. It was their last. It was a bloody one. It decided the fate of the island.

The Belgæ, under the conduct of Torlath, advanced into the British territories. Cuchullin met them with the Britons. They fought. And Torlath and Cuchullin were killed. But the Belgæ were routed<sup>58</sup>. They advanced with another army. And it was surprized by the Britons in the night, and defeated<sup>59</sup>. They raised a third, and made a forced march with it to Temora in East-Meath, in order to surprize the capital. The British army marched with great expedition to prevent it. It came too late. The Belgæ had surprized the town, seized the monarch, and put him to death<sup>60</sup>. It was overwhelmed with astonishment at the event. And it immediately dispersed<sup>61</sup>. The Belgæ everywhere recovered themselves, took advantage of the confusion, and, under the command of P. 446. their king Cairbar and his brother Cathmor, made themselves masters of the whole country<sup>62</sup>.

In this exigence the Caledonian monarch, now advanced in years, came over again. And with him returned success. Cairbar lay with his army upon the coast, to prevent his landing. The forces were routed, and Cairbar killed. Cathmor marched up, and attacked the victorious troops. And Cathmor and all his army fell<sup>63</sup>.

In this defeat, the royal line of Larthon seems to have been destroyed. The Belgæ would naturally be thrown into confusion, and the Britons as naturally take advantage of it. The former, weakened by many defeats, and most probably without a monarch, would be now attacked by the Britons, flushed with victory, united under one head, Ferad-artho <sup>64</sup>, and taught by sad experience to prosecute an offensive war. And, in these circumstances, they would certainly be reduced by the Britons. So they very probably were at this period. And so they undoubtedly were within fifty or sixty years after it. In 320, no longer requiring assistance from the Caledonians, the Britons sent a body of their islanders into Caledonia, and even fixed a considerable colony within it <sup>65</sup>.

This great revolution, in the internal condition of Ireland, would give it a new name and figure in Europe. It would naturally assume a greater importance, as it was now for the first time united under one head. And it would as naturally adopt the appellation which the confederated Britons had previously borne, and which the victors always communicated to the vanquished. Thus, together with the British tribes, and among some barbarous nations on the ocean, we find the Scoticæ gentes enumerated by Porphyry about the year 270 <sup>66</sup>. We see the Scotti or Irish fixing a settlement upon the western coast of Caledonia in 320 <sup>67</sup>, and ravaging the Roman provinces from it about 340 <sup>68</sup>. And we find the whole number of the Irish tribes denoted by the appellation of Scotti, before the conclusion of the fourth century <sup>69</sup>.

Sect. IV. The first entrance of the Scots into Britant was in the  
P. 447. year 320<sup>5</sup>; and a considerable body of them then settled  
in Caledonia<sup>6</sup>, in the country of the Dencaledones and  
the dominions of the Creones<sup>7</sup>. And they came not  
upon any hostile expedition. This the great connexion  
that had subsisted betwixt the Scots and Creones, the  
frequent reinforcements that had been sent by the latter  
to the former, and the near alliance of the Scottish and  
Creonian monarchs, must have effectually forbidden. And  
they came not merely upon an invitation from the Ca-  
ledonians, and only with a design to engage in the wars  
with them. Had they landed for this end only, they  
would have regularly lent their assistance, and never  
have received any settlements. They therefore crossed  
the sea for another purpose. And it was in all proba-  
bility this. The kings of Ireland being equally with  
the sovereigns of the Creones descended from Trenmor,  
and his elder line failing in Ossian, “the last of the  
“race of Fingal<sup>8</sup>;” the crown of the Creones de-  
volved to the younger, the family of Cenar, and the  
monarchs of Ireland. Ossian lived long after the rest  
of the family, long after Fingal had “fallen asleep  
“with his race of battle;” as he had seen a new gene-  
ration arise, that “marked no years with their deeds<sup>9</sup>.”  
He died therefore in an advanced old age, and about  
the year 320. The monarch of Ireland would imme-  
diately take possession of the kingdom, and naturally  
give it as an appenage to one of his sons. Fergus was  
accordingly sent with a body of troops and the autho-  
rity of a sovereign<sup>10</sup>. And he landed, took possession  
of the crown, and settled his Scots in the country<sup>11</sup>.

Thus

Thus fixed in Caledonia agreeably to the laws of the <sup>Sect. IV.</sup> kingdom and with the full consent of the natives, the Scots readily joined the Picts in their incursions into the Roman provinces. In 340 the Picts in general, and the Scots confederated with them, harassed Valentia with perpetual inroads<sup>75</sup>. And thus they continued to act regularly afterwards, jointly crossing the Cluyd in their curroghs, jointly over-running Valentia and penetrating into Maxima, and beginning the great <sup>P. 448.</sup> era of calamities, which appears so sadly conspicuous in the succeeding history of Roman Britain, Lancashire, and Manchester,

<sup>1</sup> Richard p. 43. and Ptolomy.—<sup>2</sup> Richard's Map.—

<sup>3</sup> Richard's map. This shews the Isamnum Promontorium and the Vinderius flu. to have been transposed in Ptolemy.—<sup>4</sup> Eblana must have been also spoken D-Eblana, as we have Avon and D-Avon for the same appellation; and Eb-lan or Deb-lan signifies the fortress on the water.—<sup>5</sup> Richard and Ptolemy for Modona and Menapia, and the biographers of Saint Patrick for Slanus.—<sup>6</sup> Richard's map.—<sup>7</sup> Richard's map, O Halloran's Introd. to the Hist. and Ant. of Ireland, p. 37, and Harris's Ware p. 41.—<sup>8</sup> Ptolemy.—<sup>9</sup> Ptolemy and Richard's map.—<sup>10</sup> Richard's map.—Ptolemy calls them Erdinii.—<sup>11</sup> Richard's map and Ptolemy.—<sup>12</sup> Ossian vol. II. p. 36,—<sup>13</sup> Richard's map of Ireland has some inaccuracies in it, And Dr. Stukeley's copy has more.—The river Buvinda, which is given in Richard's description to the Voluntii, and must have been their south-

sect. IV. ern boundary, is given in his map to the Eblani; and these are planted to the north as well as south of it. The southern border of the Eblani, which assuredly ran along the Liffy, is carried below it. The southern border of the Caucii, which was certainly along the Oboca, is also carried below it. The Coriondii are placed too far to the west. The Menapii are carried to the Barrow. The Brigantes are pushed beyond it. And the Scotti, who should be all to the east of the Shannon, are all placed to the west of it. — Dr. Stukeley has copied most of these mistakes, and added others. He has suffered the names to be disfigured by the negligence of the engraver, Vodiæ being changed into Voclæ, Sena into Lena, Argita into Argela, Darabona into Danæbona, &c. He has omitted several names

P. 449. and places; of the former, the Libnius, Naghata, and Robogdium; and, of the latter, the Vodium Promontorium, Benisamnum Promontorium, and Insula Venicnia. And the Voluntii are brought down only to the river Deva, the Eblani are fixed in all the country betwixt the Deva and Buvinda, and the Rhebius Lacus is carried too far to the north of the Magnus Sinus.—

<sup>14</sup> Richard p. 50. A. M. 3650. — <sup>15</sup> P. 42. Richard, Certissimum est Damnios, Voluntios, Brigantes, Cangos, aliasque nationes, origine fuisse Britannicâ, quæ eò postea [post Scotos] trajecerunt. — <sup>16</sup>

Iwerddon is the name of Ireland among the Welsh at present, Iuer Ton or the western country. — <sup>17</sup> Richard p. 42, Quæ eò — trajecerunt postquam Divitiacus — vel duces alii victores illis

dōmi tumultum fecerant; and p. 50, Circa hæc tempora. — <sup>18</sup> Richard p. 50, In Hiberniam commigrarunt ejecti

ejecti a Belgis Britones, ibique sedes posuerunt, ex illo <sup>Sect. IV.</sup>  
tempore Scotti appellati; and Macpherson in *Offian*  
vol. I. p. 130. and vol. II. Preface p. v.—<sup>19</sup> Agric.  
Vit. c. 24. A legion and a tolerable number of auxiliaries were then justly deemed sufficient to reduce the island; so thinly was the country inhabited, so much were most of the colonies in their infancy, and so little were they united together.—<sup>20</sup> P. 42, *Certissimum est*  
*Damnios, Voluntios, Brigantes, Cahgos, aliasque nationes origine fuisse Britannicā, quæ eò postea [post Scotos] trajecerunt, postquam vel Divitiacus, vel Claudius, vel Ostorius, vel duces alii victores illis domi tumultum fecerant;* and p. 45, *Non possum non in hoc loco monere, Damnios, Voluntios, Brigantes, & Cangianos, omnes fuisse Britanaicæ originis nationes, quæ, cùm vel ab hoste finitimo non daretur quies, vel tot tanquam exigentur tributa quibus solvendis se impares intelligerent,—in hanc terram trajecerunt.*—<sup>21</sup> Richard p. 44, *Mediolanum.* —<sup>22</sup> Diodorus p. 355. And see Camden c. 1314. —<sup>23</sup> So Caractacus is called by the Welsh Caradoc and Caradauc, and a river in Somersetshire Thone and Taun. So Cadwallon or Cadwallaun, Maur or Mor, Great, and a hundred others. Thus also, in Lancashire particularly, one river is popularly called and written Laun or Lon, and our own Tame both Taum and Tom. —<sup>24</sup> The Carnabii are more <sup>P. 450.</sup> strangely denominated Cornini by Ravennas.—<sup>25</sup> *Offian* vol. I. p. 5. An islet in the lake of Killarney is still called Inise-Fallin, as we have Beg-eri or Little Ireland, an islet in the county of Wexford.—<sup>26</sup> *Mona* p. 305.—<sup>27</sup> P. 302, *ibid.* — And see *Sax. Chron.* p. 11 and 12,

Sect. IV. and Adamnan's life of Columba i. ii. c. 34. in Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, vol. II. p. 358, and a note vol. II. p. 384. —<sup>28</sup> P. 14. —<sup>29</sup> Camden c. 808. and Mona p. 27. —<sup>30</sup> Offian vol. I. p. 3, 7, 148, vol. II. p. 72, and Crit. Diff. p. 97. And see Nennius c. 8, Guiher Cet Guely, or Caer Kidwelly. And the same elision ran through all the Celtick, as in the Gallick Rhodanus or Rhone, the Gallick Matrona or Marne, &c.; and continued in the Saxon and to this day remains in the English, as in Ethelward pronounced Elward, Clothes Clo's, Them 'Em, Boatswain Boson, North and South Nor and Sou, Northwood Norwood, South-wold-bay Solebay, &c. &c. —<sup>31</sup> In an address of Valerius Flaccus to Vespasian, he says thus,

Tuque o pelagi cui major aperti  
Fama, *Caledonius* postquam tua carbasā vexit  
Oceanus, Phrygios priūs indignatus Iulos.

Here we see the word, *Caledonius*, applied even to the British Channel, to the sea which is said to have disdained the yoke of Cæsar by destroying his vessels. And, even at the death of Vespasian, the Romans had not yet entered the real Caledonia at all. And in The Genuine Hist. of the Britons I have produced another instance exactly correspondent to this, which shews the coast adjoining to this sea, and the very shore at which Cæsar's navy was destroyed, to have been called Caledonia as early even as the reign of Nero. See p. 124. —<sup>32</sup> Suetonius p. 240, Oxon. He speaks of them only as two states: And Richard does the same, calling all the southern tribes from Kent or Sussex (p. 18) to the Land's-End by the two appellations of the Belgæ and

Dam-

Damnonii (p. 17). — <sup>33</sup> Richard p. 42, Claudio. — Sect. IV,  
<sup>34</sup> Ossian vol. II. p. 129 and 131, and vol. II. p. 143  
and 145. — <sup>35</sup> Ch. xi. f. 2. — <sup>36</sup> Ossian p. 131 vol. II. —  
<sup>37</sup> Richard and Ptolemy. — <sup>38</sup> Richard Iter 16. — <sup>39</sup> Ri-  
chard p. 51, A. M. 4050, circa hæc tempora, reliquæ  
Britannia, Cangi & Brigantes in Hiberniam commigra-  
runt, sedesque ibi posuerunt; and p. 42, Ostorius. —  
<sup>40</sup> Richard p. 43. — <sup>41</sup> Ardven or Arden was the name  
of the sea-coast of Western Caledonia, from the upper  
end of Lochaber or the present Morvain, Fingal's resi-  
dence, quite to the Friths and the Wall (see Ossian vol. I.  
p. 95 and 96); if it did not include, which I suspect it  
did, the whole peninsula of Caledonia. — Ossian vol. II.  
p. 36. — <sup>42</sup> Ibid. — <sup>43</sup> P. 30. — <sup>44</sup> P. 130 and 36. —  
<sup>45</sup> P. 36 and 37. — <sup>46</sup> P. 37 and 38. — <sup>47</sup> P. 38 and 31.  
— <sup>48</sup> Ibid. — <sup>49</sup> P. 38. — <sup>50</sup> P. 31, and Harris's Ware's  
Ant. p. 44. — <sup>51</sup> Ossian ibid., “The king of the race of  
“their fathers.” — <sup>52</sup> P. 30. — <sup>53</sup> Themoria, civitas ubi etiam  
tunc regni Scotorum erat caput, S. Patricii Vita, p. 316.  
tom iii. in Bedæ Opera omnia, Basil. 1563; and Waræi  
Ant. Hib. London 1564. c. 22. p. 95. — <sup>54</sup> Ossian  
vol. I. p. 31 and 32. — <sup>55</sup> Vol. II. p. 58 and 66. —  
<sup>56</sup> Vol. II. p. 58, 59, 66, 67, and 68. — <sup>57</sup> Vol. II.  
p. 18 and 141. — <sup>58</sup> Vol. I. p. 151, &c. — <sup>59</sup> P. 166.  
— <sup>60</sup> Vol. II. p. 21 and 22, and Themoria civitas ubi  
etiam tunc regni Scotorum erat caput (Patricii Vita  
p. 316). — <sup>61</sup> Vol. I. p. 166. — <sup>62</sup> P. 166. vol. I. &c. —  
<sup>63</sup> Vol. II. p. 6—15 and p. 23 and 149. — <sup>64</sup> Vol. II.  
p. 155. He was the second son of Cairbar (p. 141.  
vol. II), and uncle to the lately murdered Cormac. —  
<sup>65</sup> Richard p. 53, A. M. 4320, ductu regis Fergusii in  
Britan-

Sect. IV. Britanniam transeunt Scotti, ibique sedem figunt.—  
 —<sup>66</sup> Jerom in Epist. ad Ctesiphontem. —<sup>67</sup> Richard p. 53.  
 —<sup>68</sup> A. Marcellinus lib. xxvii. c. 8, and Genuine Hist.  
 of the Britons p. 170—171. —<sup>69</sup> Ware's Patricii Opti-  
 cula (London 1656) p. 16; Claudian de laud. Stil. l. ii.  
 p. 140. Elzevir 1677, Totam cum movit Iernem Scotus;  
 P. 45<sup>1</sup>. and Patricii Vita p. 316. And in Bede's Hist. lib. iii.  
 c. 3. we find the Belgæ of the south expressly denom-  
 inated Scots.—<sup>70</sup> Richard p. 53, and Bede's Hist. lib. i.  
 c. 1.—<sup>71</sup> Gildas c. 11, Scotti a Circio, and c. 15, Trans  
 Tithicam vallem vexti—Scotorum Piectorumque greges,  
 and Bede l. i. c. 1. The words Tithica vallis in Gil-  
 das, which have been so strangely twisted and inter-  
 preted, are nothing more than one of Gildas's wild and  
 poetically manufactured expressions, Tethica vallis or  
 the abyss of the sea.—<sup>72</sup> Ossian vol. I. p. 236. See also  
 p. 48 and 59.—<sup>73</sup> P. 48 and 71, 59, 81, 236, 260 and  
 267, vol. I.; and p. 203 vol. II.—Fingal, by the tra-  
 dition of Ireland, died in 283.—<sup>74</sup> Richard p. 53.—  
<sup>75</sup> Ammianus lib. xxvii. c. 8, &c.

## M E M.

For a still fuller elucidation of this portion of history,  
 see the Genuine History of the Britons asserted against  
 Mr. Macpherson, written since the first edition, and  
 confirming and improving the notices here delivered.

## V.

THE provinces being thus vigorously assailed upon the north and east; and the tenth, the seventh, and the twentieth legions probably transported out of the island about the same period, as I have shewn the last of them to have been resident among us to the middle nearly of the fourth century<sup>1</sup>; the remaining troops were only the sixth Victorious and the second Augustan legions, and a body of auxiliaries. This, however, was more than the regular number belonging to two legions. And it was nearly the whole for four. As the auxiliary cavalry was double in number to the legionary, as the latter was somewhat more than seven hundred men to each legion, and the former was thrown into alæ or independent troops of four or five hundred<sup>2</sup>; six alæ would be the complement of auxiliary horse for a couple of legions. But the Notitia expressly mentions eleven bodies of cavalry in the island, five of them specified as alæ, and the other six forming, like them, as many P. 452. distinct garrisons, and being therefore in all probability nearly equal to them in number. And though, as I have formerly shewn<sup>3</sup>, sixteen cohorts made up the complement of auxiliary foot for a couple of legions, the Notitia enumerates seventeen; and mentions, besides, sixteen auxiliary numeri or bodies, that, like them, formed as many garrisons, and were nearly equal to them in all probability. The number of auxiliary horse coincides pretty nearly with that of auxiliary foot; and

Sect. V. both together compose almost the whole complement of auxiliaries for four legions. And the total amount of the forces in Britain, at this period, was probably about twelve thousand legionary foot and twenty-four thousand auxiliary, and one thousand four hundred legionary and five thousand auxiliary horse; or thirty-six thousand infantry, and six or seven thousand cavalry.

These, as I have previously shewn <sup>4</sup>, were totally insufficient of themselves to garrison the various stations of the island. And it was never intended that they should. A considerable change must have been designed in the disposition of the forces. And a new appearance was given to the military aspect of the country. The troops were no longer disposed in long lines of forts, and ranged across the island in every direction. The Romans ordered almost all their men from their camps, and quartered them upon the northern and eastern frontiers <sup>5</sup>. And the interior parts of the country no longer required any garrisons, secured from the fear of insurrections by the legionary citizens in the colonies, and by the Romanized disposition of the Britons.

This change in the arrangement of the forces seems to have happened in the year 394. The Scotch invasion of Roman Britain, which shall be described immediately, was probably occasioned by it. That was made in 395, as I shall soon endeavour to shew. And one winter was sufficient, and one requisite, to raise the large army which the Scots collected for the expedition. In 394, therefore, the Ro-

mans broke up the regular lines of their encampments, Sect. V.  
P. 453. deserted nearly all the forts in the center of the island and on the western coast, and filed off to the eastern shore and the northern wall. And in that year, consequently, they put an end to their long-continued encampment in the Castle-field, and on the site of the church and college, at Manchester ; the first cohort of the Frisini, Frisiaci, or Frixagi marching away into the north , and finally leaving us just three hundred and fifteen years from the erection of Manchester in the field of Aldport, about four hundred and fifty from its construction upon Castle-field, and about nine hundred from the first entrance of a colony into the parish and the county.

As the Romans previously carried their arms into the mediterranean parts of the island, they secured their conquests by a range of forts upon their northern border ; to cut off the communication betwixt the conquered and unconquered Britons, and prevent any invasion of the country by the latter. Thus Ostorius, as Tacitus informs us, carried a regular chain of camps along the Severn and the Upper Avon, the Avon of Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, and Northamptonshire, and the genuine and long-lost Antona of that historian ; and afterwards continued it, as fact seems plainly to shew us, along the Nen of Northamptonshire to the marshes of the eastern coast . A second series was also drawn from the Eden to the Tyne, before the reign of Hadrian . And a third was constructed by Agricola betwixt the friths of Forth and Cluyd . These the Romans laid out at their first reduction of the country.

Sect. V. And they regularly continued them afterwards, on their peaceable settlement in the provinces. But as the Caledonians, in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian; had over-run Valentia and penetrated into Maxima <sup>10</sup>, pretty certainly avoiding the frequent forts in the narrow isthmus betwixt the friths, by crossing the Kelvin from the country of the Attacotti below Bemulie, and afterwards passing betwixt the fewer forts on the wider isthmus of Cumberland and Northumberland; Hadrian connected the latter by a regular wall of turf <sup>11</sup>. And the Britons again passing the forts betwixt the friths in the reign of Antoninus Pius <sup>12</sup>, and invading the land of the Novantes <sup>13</sup>; Lollius united the former by another, and carried the wall and the forts into the country of the Attacotti, and nearly up to their capital <sup>14</sup>. Hadrian meant not by the one erection to resign the province of Valentia to the Caledonians, any more than Severus meant it by rebuilding the wall of stone <sup>15</sup>, when he was just returning from or advancing to the intended subjection of all Caledonia. And Hadrian designed not to cede Valentia to the enemy, any more than Lollius designed to cede the conquests of Agricola in the country of the Horestii, when he was even preparing to reduce all the Caledonians, and had actually reduced the Attacotti. The walls were erected to continue the chain unbroken from fort to fort, and preclude the Caledonians from slipping by the forts and ravaging the country. They could no longer pass by the stations on the friths and rivers. And, if they even crossed the former in their vessels, they were liable to be attacked by the troops from the country, and were effectually

effectually restrained in their progress by the wall betwixt the rivers. Valentia was constantly retained in the power of the Romans; the kingdom of the Novantes being subject to them at the period of the invasion, and betwixt the construction of Hadrian's and the erection of Antoninus's rampart <sup>16</sup>. And the whole province remained under their dominion to the days of Severus <sup>17</sup>, the reign of Constantine <sup>18</sup>, and the final secession of the Romans from the island <sup>19</sup>.

Sect. V.

But now, when they collected their forces to the northern and eastern border, and even many years before this period, in that of Antonine's Itinerary; they appear not to have made the farther wall the principal barrier of the country, and to have lined it particularly with troops. The ready passage and customary conveyance of the Picts and Scots across the frith of Cluyd into the province <sup>20</sup>, rendered any large garrison superfluous. One, however, was constantly kept there <sup>21</sup>. In the time of Antonine's Itinerary, and in that of the Notitia, the Romans must still have maintained a garrison at the wall, as they still retained the province of Valentia. And, in both, the Caledonians appear to have not seized at all, as they certainly would if there had been no garrison there, even the northern and more neighbouring parts of the region. They appear only to have infested it with their former inroads, crossing the Cluyd, and ravaging the country <sup>22</sup>. And they first took possession even of the more northerly parts of it, only at the final departure of the Romans from the island <sup>23</sup>.

P. 455.

Sect. V. If we examine the Itinerary of Antonine and the accounts of the Notitia, unbiassed by the determinations of our present antiquarians, and attentive only to the obvious import of the notices; we shall find this reasoning confirmed by the one, and illustrated by the other.

The first Iter of Antonine bears this title prefixed to it, *A Limite i. e. A vallo Prætorium usque*; and afterwards enumerates these towns,

*A Bremenio*

*Corstopitum.—*

This, therefore, begins from one of the walls: and the early nomination of Bremenium proves it to begin from that of Antoninus, the great Limes or boundary of Roman Britain. And Bremenium is demonstrated by an inscription <sup>24</sup> to be the present Riechester in Northumberland, about eighteen miles to the P. 456. north of Severus's rampart. The second Iter of Antonine exhibits this title and these names,

*A Vallo ad Portum Ritupas,*

*A Blato Bulgio*

*Castra Exploratorum m. p. 12.*

*Luguvallio m. p. 12.*

This, therefore, commences equally from one of the walls, and, as the mention afterwards of Luguvallium demonstrates, equally from that of Antoninus. And Luguvallium was certainly at the rampart of Severus, and in the fifth Iter is actually denominated Luguvallium *Ad Vallum*. Thus plainly are two Itinera of Antonine shewn to begin from the more northerly rampart, and to traverse the whole province of Valentia. And thus

thus clearly do the Romans appear to have garrisoned <sup>Sect. V.</sup> the walls betwixt the friths, even as late as the reign of Constantine and in a part of the fourth century.

But the Notitia is still more particular. It not only points out the continuance of the Roman soldiers at the northern fence. It specifies the number of forts that were garrisoned at it. And it gives us a list of the forces that were quartered in them. Twenty-three stations are placed by the Notitia *per lineam Valli*. And the first eighteen of these are demonstrated by Mr. Horseley, to range along the line of the southern wall<sup>25</sup>. These eighteen compose the whole length of that extended chain of forts, which secured the rampart of Severus<sup>26</sup>. And where then shall we settle the other five? We act in full contradiction to the declaration of the Notitia, if with Mr. Horseley we transfer them from the line of the wall, and plant them at a distance from it. They are declared as expressly as the others to be *per lineam Valli*. Demonstration shews them not to have been placed along the southern wall. And Prejudice therefore must acknowledge them to have been along the northern,

But there is one very remarkable circumstance in the two above mentioned Itinera of Antonine, which has never been observed by the criticks. One of them begins thus,

A Limite i. e. A Vallo Prætorium usq;

P. 457.

A BREMENIO

Corstopitum m. p. 20;

And the other thus,

A Vallo ad Portum Ritupas,

A BLATO BULGIO

Castra Exploratorum m. p. 12.

Sect. V. Only these Itinera begin in this extraordinary manner.

And this alone pretty evidently points out, that some station or stations have been omitted in the copies, before A Bramenio in the one and A Blato Bulgio in the other. Had not this been the case, the commencing point would have been the wall in both, and Bremenium or Blatum Bulgium could have ranked only as an intermediate station in either. And this is proved to be true by the Itinerary of Richard. We have the very same route described by his fifth Iter, as is traced by the first of Antonine. And the stations, that are forgotten in the latter, are enumerated in the former.

Antonine's 1st.	Richard's 5th.
A Limite i. e. A Vallo Prætorium usq;—m. p. 156.	A Limite Præturiam usq; sic,
A Bremenio.	{
Corstopitum m. p. 20	Corstoplio 20
Vindomora m. p. 9	Vindomora 9
Vinovia m. p. 19	Vindovia 19
Catarractoni m. p. 22	Catarractoni 22
Ilurium m. p. 24	Eboraco 40
Eburacum m. p. 17	Derventione 7
Derventione m. p. 7	
Delgovitia m. p. 13	Delgovicia 13
Prætorio m. p. 25	Præturio 25,

P. 458. Thus was a Roman garrison continued at the wall of Antoninus, to the final departure of the Romans from the island. The number of troops, however, which was

was stationed at it, was very inconsiderable for the reasons which I have already suggested. The only forts that were garrisoned at all were five, Glannibanta, Alione, Bremetenracum, Olenacum, and Virofidum <sup>27</sup>. And the forces, that were lodged in them, were only four cohorts and a body of cuirassiers <sup>28</sup>. The stations were pretty certainly the five, which still appear more considerable than the rest betwixt the friths; New Kirkpatrick, Bemulie, Barhill, Castle-cary, and Rough-castle. The first is described as a very large fort, the second as a prodigious one, the third as very large and well preserved, the fourth as magnificent and best preserved of any, and the fifth as vast, magnificent, and entire <sup>29</sup>. And, since the eighteen upon Severus's wall are certainly enumerated from east to west <sup>30</sup>, the remaining five along Antoninus's are probably reckoned in the same direction; and Glannibanta is Rough-castle, Alione Castle-cary, Bremetenracum Barhill, Olenacum Bemulie, and Virofidum New Kirkpatrick <sup>31</sup>.

But the main body of the troops was now stationed along the line of Severus's wall, and the eastern and south-eastern coast. The latter was guarded by ten stations, reaching from Yorkshire into Sussex <sup>32</sup>. The former was raised eight Roman feet in thickness and twelve in height, was strengthened with various turrets, and secured by eighteen forts <sup>33</sup>. And in one of these, Vindobala or Rutchester, the old garrison of our Castle-field, and the first cohort of the Frieslanders, was now settled by the Romans <sup>34</sup>.

This grand alteration, in the number and disposition of the Roman troops within the island, was pretty certainly

Sect. V. tainly the cause of that great invasion, which was made at this period from Ireland. The first descent upon the provinces, which had been attempted from that country with a view of conquest, it must have resulted from some particular circumstances in the interior condition of Britain, and some very inviting

P. 459. change in the state of our western coast. And nothing less could have been the cause of so remarkable an invasion, I think, than the equally remarkable revolution in the internal history of Britain, the general desertion of the stationary lines, and the retirement of the troops from the western counties. By the new arrangement of the forces, the whole extent of the island, from the south of Westmoreland to the shore of Cornwall, was left exposed and defenceless<sup>35</sup>. Had the Irish invaded the western coast with any considerable armament before, the Romans would have left some forces encamped upon it at present. And therefore, if the latter had not withdrawn all the stationary garrisons from the coast, the former would not have invaded it with so considerable a one now. But, apprized of the new military arrangements, and stimulated with the inviting prospect of conquest<sup>36</sup>, they resolved upon an expedition against the whole western shore of England.

This was executed in the year 395. It was made and repelled after the death of Theodosius in the January of that year, and during the minority of Honorius and the regency of Stilicho<sup>37</sup>. And it was equally made and repelled a hundred and forty-six years before Maelgun Guinedh began to reign over the Ordovices;

Ordovices<sup>18</sup>; and the commencement of his reign was before the death of Arthur and 542<sup>19</sup>. The former date reduces the fact to the year 395, or some immediately succeeding one. And the latter carries it back to that year in particular, the commencement of Maelgun's reign being to be reckoned from 541 at the lowest, and the deduction of a hundred and forty-six from this number leaving us precisely three hundred and ninety-five.

Neil Na-Gaillac was now monarch of the Irish<sup>20</sup>, the Neal or chief of the Gaelick or Gauls<sup>21</sup>. And he raised the whole united power of the island, and embarked them upon his small craft<sup>22</sup>. The British sea-boats were furnished with masts and sails. But they were frequently worked by the hand, the rowers singing to the chime of their oars and the musick of the harp<sup>23</sup>. And the admiral's ship carried a shield upon P. 469. the mast, which was a sufficient mark of itself in the day, and was frequently beat upon as a signal in the night; the whole fleet steering by the stars, and the boats being drawn upon the beach at landing<sup>24</sup>. Thus equipped, the Irish ranged with their numerous navy along the coast of Lancashire, landed in the Isle of Man, and reduced it<sup>25</sup>. They made a descent upon North-Wales, and subdued a considerable portion of the country. They disembarked a body of their troops in the dominions of the Dimetæ, and conquered the greatest part of them<sup>26</sup>. And they afterwards extended their arms to the southern channel<sup>27</sup>. This unexpected invasion, however, was soon afterwards repelled,

Sect. V. pelled. As, in so critical a period, the troops of the east and north could not be ordered away to the western shore; other forces were sent over by Stilicho<sup>48</sup>, and joined by a large body of the provincials, legionary citizens and original Britons without doubt, under the command of Cunedag the monarch of the Ottadini<sup>49</sup>. And the Scots were attacked, defeated, and driven to their ships, with so great a carnage, that they never afterwards attempted any descents of conquest upon our western coast.<sup>50</sup>.

But the period was now arrived, that the Roman empire, having done the great work for which it was erected by Providence, having long connected the central nations of the globe with a chain of amity, was to be demolished for ever; that H E, who had already converted to the Christian faith all the nations which lay within the pale of the Roman empire, designed to bring the uncivilized tribes of Europe into the one, in order to profelyte them to the other; and that the miseries, which had been so wantonly scattered over half the world by the Romans, were to be severely retorted upon them. God summoned the savage nations of the north, to come and eraze the mighty structure of their empire, and avenge the injuries of the P. 461. nations around them. The Roman legionaries, once the invincible of the earth, now retired on every side towards the heart of the empire. And Rome, once the tyrant of the world, daily shrunk into herself; contracting the dimensions of her territories, and losing the formidableness of her name. In this awful crisis the Roman

Roman soldiers finally deserted the island of Britain; Sect. V.  
 in the year of the Christian æra 446<sup>1</sup>; five hundred  
 and one years after their first descent upon the island,  
 four hundred and three after their settlement in the  
 country, and three hundred and sixty-seven after their  
 entrance into Lancashire.

<sup>1</sup> S. i.—<sup>2</sup> See b. I. ch. ii. f. 2. and ch. vi. f. 4.—

<sup>3</sup> Ch. ii. f. 2.—<sup>4</sup> Chap. vi. f. 4.—<sup>5</sup> Notitia.—<sup>6</sup> Ibid. So  
 the Saxons were denominated Safenach and Saxonach  
 by the Irish, and the Sistuntii called Sistuntiaci, the Bri-  
 tanni Britannici, and the Pœni Punici.—<sup>7</sup> Tacitus Ann.  
 lib. xii. c. 31, and Richard's Iter 14, Sariconio 11,  
 Glebon 15, *Ad Antonam* 15, Alauna 15. This serves  
 to fix the Antona of Tacitus decisively, Gloucester on  
 one side and Alcester on the other settling Ad Anto-  
 nam about Evesham or Bengeworth, and on the Upper  
 Avon. And Gale's Essay in Leland's Itin. v. VI. p.  
 143, 1769, serves to shew, that additional links were  
 made to the chain; to continue it along the Nen to the  
 marshes. By this scheme, the passage in Tacitus is  
 now for the first time interpreted literally, and history  
 and fact are reconciled together.—<sup>8</sup> Horseye p. 98,  
 compared with p. 158.—<sup>9</sup> Agric. Vit. c. 23.—<sup>10</sup> Ta-  
 citus Hist. lib. i. c. 2, *Perdomita Britannia &c. statim*  
*amissa*; Spartian c. 5. of Hadrian, *Britanni tenevi sub*  
*Romanâ ditione non poterant &c.*; and Richard p. 59,  
*Sub quo [Trebello] duæ provinciæ, Vespasiana scilicet*  
*& Maata [or Valentia p. 28], fractæ sunt,—Circa idem*

Sect. V. *tempus insulam hancce visitans Hadrianus &c.* —<sup>11</sup> The  
 forts betwixt the Friths have been twice as close as  
 those along the wall of Severus (Horseley p. 173);  
 and Spartan c. 11, Primus. —<sup>12</sup> Απέλεμέρο δὲ καὶ των εἰ  
 Βριτανών Βριτανῶν ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΛΗΝ, οἱ ΕΠΕΣΒΑΙΝΕΙΝ  
 καὶ γῆς συν τοις οπλοῖς πρέσαν την Γενουνιανού μοιραν, ιππικούς  
 Ρωμαιούς (Pausanias Arcad. lib. viii. p. 689, Lipsiae  
 1696). These words have been applied to the Brigantes  
 of Maxima by Mr. Horseley, Mr. Camden, &c., and  
 to the Selgovæ and others of Valentia by Mr. Carte;  
 but can suit neither of them. The Brigantes of Maxima  
 had had all their land conquered before. And the  
 P. 462. Brigantes of Valentia had either had all theirs before,  
 or had it now. The Brigantes of Caledonia, alone,  
 suffered a diminution of their territories at this period.  
 And they lost τὴν πελλήν, the whole of Vespafrana, in  
 consequence of their invasion of Valentia. And ac-  
 cordingly Lollius is declared by Richard to have recon-  
 vered Valentia from the Britons (p. 59). —<sup>13</sup> See Carte  
 p. 140, the only person that settled Genounia right.  
 So on one of Cunobeline's coins, Pegge 4—2, we  
 have Novanei for Novantes, and in Ptolemy Tri-  
 noantes for Trinovantes. Nou, a New-comer, makes  
 Nou-en, Nou-an, or Nou-ant in the plural. —<sup>14</sup> Capi-  
 tolinus c. 5. of Antoninus Pius. —<sup>15</sup> Spartan in Se-  
 verus c. 22. —<sup>16</sup> So also Netherby in Valentia was cer-  
 tainly a Roman station during the reign of Hadrian  
 (Horseley p. 271). —<sup>17</sup> Herodian lib. iii. c. 48, Χωμαῖα.  
 —<sup>18</sup> Antonini Iter 1, and Richard p. 53. —<sup>19</sup> No-  
 titia reckons Valentia as one of the five provinces, that  
 were

were then subject to the Vicar of Britain; and Gildas <sup>Sect. V.</sup> c. 15, Murotenus. — <sup>20</sup> Gildas c. 13 and 15. — <sup>21</sup> See Ossian v. I. p. 95, where Oscar engages with Caros “ king of ships” at the wall of Antoninus. And this Caros is supposed by Mr. Macpherson, and from him by Dr. Henry in his new History of Great Britain v. I. 4to 1771, p. 425 — 426, to be the famous Carausius. But how could Oscar attack Carausius in 287, or rather in 290; and Fingal, who opposed Caracalla in 211, be afterwards able to fight Cathmor (vol. II. p. 8, &c.)? Fingal must have been then near a hundred years of age. As Oscar died young, he was probably about twenty at the period of this attack; and, if we allow his father to be twenty at the birth of him, we come to the year 260 or thereabouts. — <sup>22</sup> Gildas c. 11, 13, and 15. Gildas begins these ravages from 383 or the passage of Maximus into Gaul. — <sup>23</sup> Gildas c. 15. — <sup>24</sup> Horsey N° 95. of Northumberland. — <sup>25</sup> B. I. ch. vii and ix. — <sup>26</sup> Ch. vii. — <sup>27</sup> Notitia. — <sup>28</sup> Ibid. — <sup>29</sup> Gordon's Itin. Septen. 53, 54, 57, and 59, and Horsey p. 169 and 198 and 170. — <sup>30</sup> Horsey p. 110. — <sup>31</sup> If the Glannoventa of Antoninus (Iter 10) be not different from the Glannibanta of the Notitia, as the Alone of the one (Iter 10) is evinced, by its distance of thirty Itinerary miles from Glannoventa, to be very different from the Alione of the other; the tenth Iter of Antonine would issue from the eastern end of the wall, as the first of Antonine and the fifth P. 463 of Richard commence from the western, and is probably as much maimed at the beginning as the first.

This

Sect. V. This route would carry the road in a straight direction from north-east to south-west, and not in so strange a course as Mr. Horsey has given it; first tending to the north-west to Old Town, then turning nearly west to Whitley Castle, and then, and not before, proceeding to the south-west. And this would carry it (I apprehend) nearly by Peebles to Appleby; leaving Whitley-Castle a little distant on the left, and pointing directly into Lancashire and Cheshire.—<sup>32</sup> Notitia.—<sup>33</sup> Richard p. 28, and Notitia.—See Bede Hist. lib. i. c. 12.—<sup>34</sup> Notitia, and Horsey p. 105. Some of the thirteen interior stations were most probably in Valentia.—<sup>35</sup> Notitia.—<sup>36</sup> Nennius p. 142 (Bertram), Ad habitandum.—<sup>37</sup> Claudian de Laud. Stil. l. ii,—Me-ane juvit Stilicho.—<sup>38</sup> Nennius p. 142.—See a mistake therefore in Carte p. 213, a Note.—<sup>39</sup> The Triades in Carte p. 213, and Vaughan's Chron. in Carte p. 202.—<sup>40</sup> Carte p. 175.—<sup>41</sup> See Nobilis in Lhuyd.—<sup>42</sup> Claudian de L. Stil. l. ii,—Totam cùm movit Iernem Scorus, & infesto spumavit remige Tethys.—<sup>43</sup> Claudian ibid.; and Ossian p. 84. vol. i.—<sup>44</sup> P. 162 and 66. vol. ii. and p. 75. vol. i.—<sup>45</sup> Nennius p. 102 and 142. Eubonia; and see c. ii. Nennius.—<sup>46</sup> Nennius ibid.—<sup>47</sup> Carte p. 169, from the Lives of the Irish Saints.—<sup>48</sup> Claudian ibid.—<sup>49</sup> Nennius p. 102 and 142, regione Manau Guotadin.—<sup>50</sup> Nennius p. 142, ab omnibus regionibus Britannicis.—<sup>51</sup> See b. II. c. i. f. 2.

M E M.

On account of those references to this work in the Genuine History of the Britons Asserted, for which I have regularly noted the pages of the Quarto on the margins of the present; it is proper to remark, that the observations in p. 466 &c., sometimes referred to there, are now incorporated into others, and placed in Appendix N° I.

VOL. II.

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## CONCLUSION.

WE have now pursued the history of Manchester to that important period in the annals of the island, the consolidation of its five provinces into one empire, and the descent of the Saxons on the whole.

We have seen the large extent of the parish a wild unfrequented tract of woodland, inhabited merely by the boar, the bull, and the wolf, and traversed only by the hunters of the neighbouring country. And we have seen it selected by the monarch of Lancashire for the seat of a fort in the woods, and a fort actually settled in the middle of it. Such was the very early origin of the population of the parish, and the first commencement of a town within it. And the rude out-lines of the one, and the faint principle of the other, began about fifty years before the Christian æra, and within the compass of the Castle-field.

The forest assumes a new life and colouring from it. And the silence and solitude, that have regularly prevailed before, are now interrupted by the resort of soldiers to the fortresses, the excursions of hunters from the field, and the voices of the garrison on the banks of the Medlock.

But

But that warlike tribe of Latium, which, from a small assemblage of outlaws on the heights of the Tiber, had amazingly become the lords of Italy, the masters of Gaul, and the conquerors of half the globe; land upon the island, reduce the little kingdoms of the Britons, and advance into Lancashire. They penetrate into our woods. They introduce the tumults of war into our parish. And they take the original Manchester.

An additional spirit then actuates the woodland. A Roman station is constructed on the Castle-field. Another is established about a mile to the north of it. And the site of the present town is now cleared in part of its trees, and first receives a colony of inhabitants upon it; one indeed that is but transitory in its nature, and exists only during the continuance of summer. The most north-westerly part of the forest is appropriated to the feeding of the Roman cattle; and four little fortresses are placed for their protection within it. And the whole woodland is intersected with large roads on every side, all ranging in right lines through the thickets, and converging to a point at the Castle-field.

One thing more compleats the great change in the aspect of this region. A regular town is now for the first time laid out in the parish. And a neighbouring baron and his clan are settled within it. This is placed in the center of the forest, and founded in the memorable autumn of 79. And the adjoining station in the Castle-field becomes the citadel of the new Manchester.

Under the auspices of the Roman genius in Britain, that principle of population, which had faintly quickened before at the heart of the woodland, now becomes active,

and vigorous, and diffuses its influence on every side. The beasts are dislodged to a greater distance from the town. The receding forest curves in an amphitheater of woods around it. And all the mechanical arts are successfully transplanted into the wild. Civility, literature, and politeness follow. And Christianity closes the rear.

Immediately a new scene of sorrow arises. A fresh invasion is meditated from the continent. A tribe of idolatrous savages is hastening from the shores of Germany. Ruin marks their advance. Ignorance, incivility, and barbarism attend upon them. And the fall of Manchester approaches.

The histories of a town, of a nation, and of man, are nothing but records of human calamities and registers of human woes. These, however, are generally provoked by vices, and are naturally productive of virtues. They re-invigorate by the task of trials that tone of the mind, which was previously weakened by inactivity. And, in forcible appeals to the thoughtfulness of the soul, they assert those powers of religion, which were sinking before in the sensualities of peace. The convulsions of nature and the enormities of man, the war of elements, and the subversion of empires, are all admirably directed by the controlling influence of the Deity, to the great purposes of supporting the moral interests of the world, and impressing the heart with the truths of religion.

## A P P E N D I X.

N° L.

I HAVE long thought, that a regular course of remarks upon the incidents and observations, which occur in the principal of our English historians, would be of considerable service to historical knowledge. Our best national accounts, in the period especially before the Conquest, call loudly, I think, for the corrective hand of criticism. Prejudice and partiality, ignorance and inattention, dulness and refinement, have all co-operated to throw their several false colours over the face of our annals, and disguise their real and genuine features. And some bolder spirit has been long wanted among us, that would dare to read, examine, and think for himself; mount up to the fountain-heads of our history, there mark the principles that secretly colour the waters at the source, and then observe the tints that incorporate with them afterwards. Something of this nature is attempted in the present work. But it wants perhaps one addition. It should not only endeavour to open the great and unveiled truths of our history, but also point out the errors, with which the earlier part of it seems to be clouded over. The brightness of truth, like that of

the sun, is most fully displayed, not merely by the radiance of its own light, but by a contrast with its opposite darkness. And the many faults that have been committed by all our recent historians, I think, and are continually gleaned by each succeeding writer from the earlier, will be the sooner avoided by being held up to the light, and our island annals more readily purged of their original falsities,

These reasons have induced me to begin here, and to think of continuing regularly in the appendix, a series of remarks, short and decisive, on our two best historians Mr. Carte and Mr. Hume, as the proper representatives of the rest. I shall remark upon them, however, only so far as their accounts run parallel in time with my own. And I shall do it with all the respect that is due to both. From this plan I foresee not a little advantage to myself; as I doubt not but I shall have frequent occasion, in animadverting upon them, to correct myself. And each volume of the History of Manchester, before it appears in publick, will be improved by the light reflected back from the appendix. The observations will, many of them perhaps, appear un-important and trifling in the detail. But all will be found serviceable, I think, as parts of a whole. And, before I finally close the subject, a regular scheme of historical criticism may be given, perhaps, for all the period of our national history before the Conquest.

At this time, I shall notice only such parts of Mr. Hume's and Mr. Carte's histories, as relate to the preceding accounts. And these are not very many. The present

present work has struck out a new path of history, that seldom comes near to theirs.

## C A R T E

Vol. I.

P. 4—7, Mr. Carte gives us his etymologies for the names Albion and Britain; deriving the former in the usual strain of our historians from the white cliffs of Dover, and the latter from the Britanni on the continent. But these etymons are entirely overthrown, I think, in ch. i. f. 1. before, and, more particularly, in the Genuine History of the Britons asserted against Mr. Macpherson, p. 91—93 and 95—103.

P. 7—15, Mr. Carte is employed in following the track of Mons. Pezron, and tracing those Celtæ who planted Gaul and peopled Britain, in their progress westward from the seat of their original patriarch. But this is a subject so compleatly enveloped in darkness, that we cannot advance a step upon certain ground. We are every moment in danger of stumbling upon stones or sinking into pitfalls. And not a rush-light appears at a distance, to direct us in the dubious and dangerous progress. I say not this, however, from the fashionable petulance of briskness and vanity, which often condemns the researches that it is too ignorant or too indolent to pursue itself, and hastily reprobates every attempt as impracticable which is attended with

T 4 difficulty.

difficulty. And I speak it only from the plain nature of the case. The Sacred History frequently lends us information with regard to the father of a people, and the first place of his settlement. But it goes no farther. The great Being, who amazingly condescended to become historian to man, became so only to promote the awful purposes of religion in the world. After the Dispersion, therefore, he confines himself entirely to the family of Abraham, and gives us only incidental notices concerning the nations that bordered immediately upon it. And profane history cannot supply its place; as it does not give us its light, till ages after these western regions of Europe were all inhabited.

That the isles of the Gentiles were first peopled by the descendants of Japhet, is a declaration of Infallibility; and means, I suppose, only the islands and shores on the northern side of the Mediterranean. But that the family of Tiras or Tirax, his youngest son, first planted Europe, and spread themselves to the western coast of the Atlantick, as is asserted by Mr. Carte in p. 8—11; and were afterwards subdued by colonies from the descendants of Gomer the eldest, as is affirmed in p. 11—12; is said without any authority of reason or of fact. Scripture only can carry us so far up the current of time. And it is quite silent on the subject. The only pretended proof of the former is the ungrounded affirmation, that the sons of Tirax had the names of Thraces, Briges, and Phryges; and the wild supposition, that these are the same with Frixii, Frigones, Frisones, Frisi, Parisi, Brigantes, Brisones, Britones, and Britanni (p. 9); when almost all these appellations

actually appear only as the names of the Gomerians or Celts many centuries afterward. And the only argument in favour of that Gomerian history, which is related in p. 12—15, is this, That the fabulous stories of the antients concerning their gods Saturn, Jupiter, Mercury, and Pluto, seem to have related to the antient princes on the northern coast of the Mediterranean. But this is no evidence, that these princes were kings of the Gomerians. It particularly does not shew, whether they were Gomerian or Thracian monarchs. And it much less proves, that the Thracians were the first planters of Europe, and afterwards subdued by the Gomerians.

There are, I believe, no traces in any part of Celtick Europe, of an original settlement there by the sons of Tirax, or of a subsequent reduction of these by the children of Gomer. And this part of Mr. Carte's or Mons. Pezron's system has not even the usual ground-work of such precarious speculations, a semblance of historical probability. If indeed they had thought judiciously over their scheme, and endeavoured to give their airy hypothesis a more substantial form; they would have cut off the whole of the Thracian plantation of western Europe, and made the Gomerian invasion the primary establishment of it. And undertaken upon better principles, and executed in a more argumentative manner, this would pretty certainly have given us the true origin of our Celtick ancestors.

N.B. I pass over the etymologies with which Mr. Carte has presented us, to confirm his positions. The former indeed have, many of them, been given very often before.

But

But they are as ridiculous as the latter are visionary. And it would be too degrading for criticism, to refute seriously the derivation of the national names of Parthi and Sacæ from the Welsh Parthy and the English To Part and Sack (p. 11); and the deduction of Uranus, the Greek οὐρανός or heaven, from the Armorick Ur-én a man of the heavens (p. 12); of Mercury from Merc a Latin-British word, and Ur, signifying a man of merchandise (p. 14); of Cronos, the Greek κρόνος or time, from Corona, Kroon, or Crown, and of Pluto from the Greek πλούτος or riches (p. 13); the fantastical buttresses of a whimsical building.

P. 16. "This [Thracian or Phrygian] descent of theirs [the Britons] seems to be sufficiently pointed out, and the memory of it to be preserved, in the name of the Brigantes, who were known to be, what Cæsar calls, the Aborigines, the first inhabitants of this island. This was certainly the old tradition of the natives; not only in his time, agreeably to what he tells of their first coming over from Gaul; but also in Bede's, who, living in the heart of the country of the Brigantes, speaks of it, as their received opinion, that Great Britain was first peopled ex Armoricano tractu, not from the particular province of Bretagne, but from the whole tract of the sea-coast."

In this specimen of inaccurate and vague reasoning are many mistakes.—Cæsar says not, either that the Brigantes were the Aborigines of Britain, or that the latter

latter came over from Gaul. His words are these : *Britanniæ pars interior ab iis incolitur quos natos in insulâ ipsâ memoriâ proditum dicunt ; maritima pars ab iis qui ex Belgis transierant.* And I have shewn before, ch. i. s. 1, and in the History of the Britons asserted p. 71—74, that the name of Brigantes was not peculiar to the aboriginal Britons, but common to them and the Belgæ. The Belgick Trinovantes are particularly mentioned as Brigantes by the famous Galgacus. And the whole body of the British Belgæ are denominated Allobroges by Richard.—But how can any intimation in Cæsar, if there had been any, that the Aborigines came over from Gaul ; or any in Bede, of their derivation ex Armunicano tractu ; prove the Phrygian or Thracian descent of the first colonists, and in opposition too to the Gomerian of the second ?—Cæsar opposes the Aborigines to the Belgæ ; but Mr. Carte contrasts them with the Gomerians or Celtæ. And Bede, in his traditional derivation of the Britons ex Armunicano tractu, extends it to all of them ; while Mr. Carte confines and appropriates it to the Aborigines.—Did not the Gomerians also, even according to Mr. Carte's own representations, come equally with his fancied Thracians from Gaul, and (as he himself extends the words to all the sea-coast of France) ex Armunicano tractu ? And are not all the Belgæ in Britain, as I have mentioned above, denominated Broges and Brigantes ?

P. 17. "Mr. Camden seems entirely of opinion, that  
 "the first inhabitants of this island came from the Go-  
 "marians, the proper and peculiar name of the Britons,  
 "being called (as the Welsh, their genuine remains,  
 "call themselves at this day) Kumero, Cumero, Cymro,  
 "and Cumeri, like as a British or Welsh woman, Ku-  
 "merae, and the tongue itself Kumeraeg: This of it-  
 "self is a strong presumption, and he enforces it with  
 "several reasons, to which I readily subscribe."

The inconsistency of this extract, and indeed of the whole paragraph from which I have taken it, with all the preceding account, is very apparent. The first colonists of the island are derived, before, from the sons of Tirax, and now from the descendants of Gomer. Their Thracian or Phrygian descent is endeavoured to be proved, before, from the name of Brigantes, the testimony of Cæsar, and the tradition of Bede. Now, all these arguments are set aside by Mr. Carte himself, and the author readily subscribes to an opinion the very reverse of his own. He here assigns reasons and expresses a belief, entirely subversive of all the former parts of his system. And, what is as remarkable, this is no accidental and occasional deviation from his settled opinion; and he persists ever afterwards in this new belief.

P. 17—21. In these pages the author endeavours to fix the first population of this island: And at the close he says thus—"It seems impossible to conceive, but  
 "that Great Britain must at the latest be planted in one  
 "of

" of those reigns [Pluto's or Mercury's] —, which  
" took up together the space of a century. It was pro-  
" bably in the former, that the first Gomerian or Cel-  
" tic colonies were settled in this island, which must  
" consequently have been planted 2000 years before  
" the Christian æra."

In the former edition, and in answer to this very argument, I had observed, That the series of Mr. Carte's own history pretty plainly opposes this notion of his ; as it settles in p. 22 the first migrations of the Gauls of which we can ascertain the period, migrations too occasioned by populousness, not till nearly 1500 years after the æra assigned here for the first inhabitation of Britain. And I had equally observed, That the history of population in England and Ireland seems strongly to prove the country not to have been inhabited till about 1000 years before Christ. The latter argument I have since enlarged in the Hist. of the Britons asserted. And from the progress of population in the island and on the continent, the concurrence of one with the other, the coincidence of both with the notices of history, and the convergence of all to one common point of time, I have there shewn with as much certainty, I think, as the nature of the subject will admit, That Britain was not peopled till ten ages after the period set down by Mr. Carte for the fact. See p. 29—32 of the Hist. of the Britons.

P. 21—23. " About 150 years before Christ, the  
" Belgæ—crossed the Rhine, and took possession of the  
" maritime

" maritime provinces of Gaul, — transported over  
 " forces to Britain, and—reduced at last all the southern  
 " parts of this island from Kent to the Land's End."

This invasion of Gaul by the Belgæ must have happened much earlier; as they even invaded Britain 200 years before it. See before ch. xii. s. 4, and Hist. of the Britons p. 64.

P. 23—24. The progress of the Cimbri here from the Palus Mæotis to the northern parts of Germany, and afterwards into the midland regions of it, is entirely false, I apprehend, and is certainly un-authenticated by Mr. Carte. The Cimbri of Jutland, like the Si-cambri on the Rhine, were assuredly derived, as they are in ch. xii. s. 4. above and in The Hist. of the Britons p. 51—53, from the great stock of the Cimbri in Gaul.

P. 24. " Hither—the old inhabitants of Belgium  
 " came—; and in all probability found the Britains  
 " willing to receive their new guests, and give them  
 " vast quantities of land, which they did not cultivate.  
 " —Devonshire and Cornwalle were all in a manner a  
 " wild forest at the coming of the Belgæ, as they con-  
 " tinued to be in a great degree till within one hundred  
 " and fifty years after the Conquest. Somersetshire  
 " was the same for the most part.—Dorsetshire too was  
 " full of the like forests. And it is well known, how  
 " widely extended that of Anderida was, and what a  
 " large

" large tract of country it took up in Kent and Suffex.  
" These seem accordingly to have been the parts where  
" the Belgic Britanni first settled."

All this is plainly erroneous. There is a mistake equally in the facts alledged, and in their application to the present subject.—The quiet settlement of the Belgæ in Britain is asserted in direct opposition to Cæsar. *Britanniæ—maritima pars (he says) ab iis [incolitur] qui, prædæ ac belli inferendi causâ, ex Belgis transferant; qui omnes,—bello illato, ibi remanserunt.* See also before ch. xii. s. 4.—And, though these counties had been in a manner a wild forest at the coming of the Belgæ, yet this would be no proof of their being uninhabited by the Britons before. The whole kingdom of the Coritani was nothing but one great forest, to the coming of the Romans (see ch. v. s. 3. before).—Kent, Suffex, Devonshire, Cornwall, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire were also inhabited by no less than seven tribes, and three of them actually British, before and after the Belgæ came. And these three were the Carnabii, the Cimbri, and the Hædui; all equally subdued by the Proper Belgæ of Hampshire, and the Damnonian of Devonshire.—The six counties were so far from continuing in a great degree a forest to the Conquest, that they had each of them many British towns in them even before the Romans came, and many Roman cities afterwards. And, if they had remained in a great degree a forest for so many ages after the Belgick settlements, then these must have made very little alteration in the state and aspect of the country; and the lands must have been almost as little occupied by the Belgæ now, as by the

the Britons before.—Nor could the Belgæ have settled, as they are here supposed by Mr. Carte, in these counties at first. Passing assuredly across the narrowest part of the sea, and confining themselves, as Cæsar informs us, to the southern shore ; they must gradually have extended their dominions from Kent to the Land's End. And their first possessions would be Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire ; and Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Somersetshire, and Cornwall, their last.—So pregnant with errors is this passage !

P. 25. “ These colonies from Belgium had been used to live—, not—, like the Brigantes [or native Britons], in woods,—but—in towns and villages; and—towns and cities now began to be founded.”

For a refutation of this wild opinion, which throws a shade over all the author’s account here, we need only appeal to one authority, Cæsar’s, and to his account of the only two British towns which he stormed. One was in the country of the Belgick Cantii, and the other in the dominions of Cassivellaunus, a monarch of the aboriginal Britons. And they appear both the same. The former was no more a modern town or village, than the latter ; but merely, like it, a fortress in the woods. And Cæsar expressly assures us, that there was no other sort of towns in the island. *Oppidum Britanni vocant, quum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossâ munierunt* (p. 92).

—“ Such were the numbers [of Belgæ] which came over thither [into Kent], that, instead of mixing with the Britains, as the others seem to have done, they formed a distinct people of themselves, known by the name of Nouantæ or New Inhabitants, or Nou Cantæ or New Kentishmen, from whom Ptolemy calls the Foreland of Kent Promontorium Noucantium.”

The Nouantæ were not the inhabitants of Kent, but are placed in Essex by Ptolemy, and in Essex and Middlesex by Richard and the truth.—And, that they are sometimes denominated Noucantæ, is a strange mistake. They are never called so.—And, that the Foreland of Kent is called Promontorium Noucantium by Ptolemy, is as strange a one. It bears only the names of Canticum and A-Canticum in him and Strabo (p. 294 and 304); signifying Promontory and The Promontory.

P. 26. “ As for the true Belgæ, they had no manner of taste for trade: their disposition was entirely warlike.—Their time too was taken up in Gaule &c.”

Such is the character here given of the Belgæ that migrated into Britain. And yet, the very page before, we have one given of them that is just the reverse of this. In p. 25 it is said of the Belgæ of Britain, that *Commerce* and husbandry had been their chief employments in Gaule.” How unguarded and contradictory!

—“Divitiacus assembling a large body of forces,  
“composed of his own subjects, the Bibroci in the  
“Rhemois, the Atrebates, and other Belgic nations,—  
“passed the sea into Britain; and reduced a great part  
“of it into his obedience. The chief scene of his con-  
“quests lay in the counties of Berks and Oxford,  
“where he planted the Bibroci and Atrebates; and in  
“those of Hants, Wilts, and the bordering parts of  
“Somerset and Sussex, where he settled the other ad-  
“venturers, who went by the general name of Belgæ;  
“expelling the Regni and other clans of the old inhab-  
“bitants from their seats in those countries.”

Here is a variety of mistakes, all resulting principally from Mr. Carte's inattentiveness to that line of distinction, which facts point out and I have traced above, betwixt the Belgick and Aboriginal tribes of the island.—The Bibroces and Atrebates I have shewn in ch. v. s. 3, to have been both Aboriginal, and not Belgick, nations. They could not therefore be transported into Britain at this period. And they could not have been settled in their dominions by Divitiacus.—Nor did these dominions extend into Oxfordshire. They were all confined to the south of the Thames.—And the chief scene of Divitiacus's conquests did not lie in Oxfordshire and Berkshire. These counties were so far from being the principal theater of his actions, that they were actually none at all. And in ch. xii. s. 2. I have shewn, in what part of the island his conquests probably lay.—They were not in Somersetshire and Sussex. They could not be, even according to Mr. Carte's

Carte's own representation before. In p. 24 he has settled the first colonies of the Belgæ in Sussex and Somersetshire. And those countries were therefore possessed by the Belgæ before Divitiacus came over, and could not be conquered by them now.—In p. 24 Mr. Carte has also fixed the earliest colonies in Kent, Sussex, &c., as lying all waste, and being unpossess'd by the Britons. But here it appears, that some part of Sussex, particularly, did not lie waste, and was actually possessed by a whole nation of the Britons, the Regni.—And these Regni inhabited not merely those parts of Sussex that border upon Hampshire. They extended over the whole of it (see ch. iii. f. 2).—And the conquests of Divitiacus could have as little to do with Hampshire, as with Sussex. This, as I have shewed before, must naturally have been a part of the first possessions of the Belgæ; as they spread successively from Kent into Cornwall. And therefore it could not be conquered now.—Nor were the Regni expelled from their possessions at this period. They continued in them, and were masters of all Sussex, even to the period of the Roman settlement among us (see ch. iii. f. 2).—Nor were the Regni likely to be expelled by the Belgæ. They were Belgæ themselves. Maritima pars (says Cæsar) ab iis [incolitur] qui ex Belgis transierant. And see ch. xii. f. 2.

P. 26—27. “ It is very probable, that—he [Divitiacus] subdued a good part of the Iceni.”

This is a supposition not at all probable in itself. And it is certainly not true. In ch. v. s. 3. I have shewn, that it is not; and that the Cassii, the great enemies of the Belgæ, and the subduers of the Belgick Trinovantes, lay betwixt them and the Iceni.

P. 27. “ That great prince’s ambition [Divitiacus’s] had involved them [the Belgæ] in wars with the natives; in which the Atrebates and Trinobantes, lying upon the borders, suffered most; and—the Iceni and Cattivellauni found it no difficult matter to recover their liberty. Had it not been for that reigning passion in Divitiacus,—the Belgæ might probably have continued much longer in amity with the Britons—.”

The Belgæ, as I have already shewn in these remarks, had been previously engaged in wars with the natives. And they had been so from the first moment of their descent on the country. *Prædæ ac belli inferendi causâ ex Belgis transferant, et bello illato ibi remanserunt* (Cæsar p. 92).—In these wars the Atrebates and Trinobantes could not suffer more than any other Belgæ. The Atrebates were not of the Belgæ. They were Aboriginal Britons.—The Cattivellauni are now first mentioned by Mr. Carte. And they are here represented as throwing off the yoke of the Belgæ, when we have yet had no account of their reduction by them.—But the reduction of either them or the Iceni, and the posterior recovery of both from the yoke, are incidents forged only in the fancy of the historian, contrary to the

the testimony of authentick history, and indubitably untrue.

N. B. From p. 27 to 71 is a history of Druidism, and, in general, a good one; but marked in many places with those strokes of the conjectural and fanciful, which it is perhaps difficult to avoid in a work of this nature. And from p. 71 to 77 is an account of the Gauls.—I have little to do with either. And I shall note only two or three passages, that contradict my former accounts.

P. 43. “Gildas informs us, that the Britons in his time had very ill-favoured statues, and paid divine honours to mountains, hills, and rivers.”

This is very inaccurately stated. Gildas says only, that the Britons worshipped these objects, and had ill-favoured statues, before they were converted to Christianity; and that some of the latter remained to his own time. He will not enumerate (he says c. 2) patræ portenta ipsa diabolica, pænè numero vincentia Egyptiaca, quorum nonnulla lineamentis adhuc deformibus intra vel extra deserta moenia, solito more rigentia, torvis vultibus intuemur; neque—montes ipsos—vel fluvios,—quibus divinus honor a cœco tunc populo cumulabatur. Here, we see, he speaks not of any idolatrous worship remaining to his own time. He only says, that some monuments of it continued till then. And these were not, as Mr. Carte has made them, the images formed and worshipped by the primitive Britons;

but those of the Roman only. They were seen, he observes, intra vel extra deserta moenia, at the sites of the Roman-British cities that had been recently destroyed by the Saxons. And several of them have come down to the present times.

P. 73. "Some flesh-meat,—but chiefly milk,—and bread, were their ordinary food ; though the Gauls regaled themselves—with cheese, which the Britons had not learned to make."

Mr. Carte has before represented the high degree of civility to which the Belgæ of Britain had arrived, by giving them regular towns. But he here makes a large deduction from that account, and denies them even the art of making cheese. The panegyrick was exaggerated. And the deduction is unjust. They had no regular towns. And they actually made cheeses. Some of the Britons, says Strabo, know not how to make cheese ; ενιας μη τοροποιειν δια την απειριαν, p. 305. Many of them therefore did ; and all assuredly that understood agriculture, the Belgæ, and even some of the neighbouring Britons.—And, as to bread, it is highly probable that it was not the ordinary food of one half of the Britons. Where agriculture was practised, as among the Belgæ and some of the adjoining Aborigines, there bread undoubtedly would be used. But where the former was unknown, as among all the other Britons, there the latter could not ordinarily be had. And it was most probably not had at all. Barley indeed seems to have been brought into the northern kingdoms from the

the south, for the service of the breweries. But it would naturally be appropriated to them. The want of bread might be supplied by the ministry of roots. But there could be no substitute for a cordial, exhilarating, and animating liquor. And the latter would, in every ruder age and colder climate, be infinitely preferred to the former. That therefore would be kept up by barley expensively fetched from the southern regions of the island, while this would be neglected or over-looked.

P. 74. " In Cæsar's time neither they [the Gauls],  
" nor the Belgæ of the south parts of Britain, painted  
" their bodies."

This assertion concerning the Belgæ is directly contrary to Cæsar's own account of the Britons. Longè sunt humanissimi qui Cantium incolunt (says he), quæ regio est maritima omnis, neque multum a Gallicâ differunt consuetudine: interiores plerique frumenta non ferunt: *omnes verò se Britanni vitro inficiunt*. Here the Belgæ of the sea-coast are expressly declared to have been equally painted with the interior or Aboriginal Britons.

— " The Gauls had a like advantage, in the largeness of their houses, over the Britains, whose cabins were very mean, made up of reeds and wood, or of sods and hurdles."

To this false account there needs no other reply, than to observe, that Cæsar expressly contradicts it. The houses of the Britons, he remarks, were almost exactly the same with those of the Gauls: *Ædificia ferè Gallicis*

consimilia. The latter therefore could have little or no advantage over the former, either in the size or the nature of their houses.

P. 75. "The Celtæ despised death so much, as often  
 "to fight naked; the Gauls doing that out of a brava-  
 "do, which the Britons were forced to submit to out of  
 "necessity."

This is in the general strain of our historians. But I have shewn before, ch. vii. s. 5, in opposition to them all, that the Britons were as regularly cloathed as the Gauls; that they appeared naked only in the hour of battle; that some even of the Gauls retained the custom to the days of Diodorus; and that, still more wonderful, the Highlanders even partially preserved it to the reign of King William, throwing off their plaids and short coats, and fighting in their shirts, as late as the battle of Killicranky.

"The Britains—had the broad sword without a point, as well as the shorter dagger, and such javelins and arrows as they used in their hunting; but the common people were ill provided in this respect, their darts being generally sticks of wood, burnt and sharpened at both ends, and a long staff edged towards the end with flint or headed with a piece of copper [a celt], instead of halberts: these were their offensive weapons. A light round target—was all they used for their defence; having neither coats of mail nor helmets, as Tacitus assures us."

In the lines immediately preceding this extract we are told, that the Gauls had coats of mail, helmets, broad long swords without points, and short ones; darts, javelins, and battle-axes. And if this representation of the Gallick armouries be, as it is, just and true, the British must have been better provided than they are here described to be. The weapons of all the *Celtæ* would naturally be the same, with only those small and incidental variations which commerce might have introduced among them. And, that the British and Gallick arms were exactly the same, we are expressly assured by Mela; who says, that the Britons were Gallicè armati (see ch. i. f. 2. before).—Nor does Tacitus's account contradict this, even as applied by Mr. Carte. He says, that the bulk of the Caledonians had no coats of mail or helmets. And this is very consistent with the other. The principal warriours only wore them, as I have shewn in ch. i. f. 2. And those only must have worn them in Gaul, as only such were clad in them even to these later times.—The British halbert in Mr. Carte I have shewn above, ch. i. f. 2., to have been the same instrument that he here assigns to the Gauls, a battle-axe. And the agreement of the British and Gallick weapons is an additional evidence in favour of the opinion.—That the darts of the Britons were generally sticks of wood burnt and sharpened at both ends, is all an assertion without proof. And it is clearly unjust. The Caledonian spears (says Dio) had a brazen apple at the end (see ch. i. f. 2.). And, if they had this at one end, they were certainly pointed with metal at the other.—Nor was the British target always round. Generally it was so. But

we

we have one upon a coin of Cunobeline, which is in the form of a lozenge; as I have remarked in ch. ix, §. 2.

P. 76. "Before that time [the Roman conquest], the greatest part of Britain lay uncultivated—; the old Britains not understanding husbandry—. The Belgic colonies—first began to—build houses substantial enough to last for a considerable time, as well as contiguous to each other, and to live together in towns and villages. The Britains still went on in their old way."

All the old Britons, without exception, are here declared not to understand husbandry. But the declaration is not true. Some of them did. *Plerique interiores frumenta non serunt*, says Cæsar.—The houses also of the Britons and Belgæ were exactly the same. They were built in the same manner with the Gallick. And they were, consequently, of one and the same nature, alike in materials and form.—And that the Belgæ first began to build houses contiguous to each other, and live together in towns and villages, has been already refuted. They had just such towns as the Britons, at the period of the Roman conquest.

"—The Britains still went on in their old way—. Their cattle—they drove from place to place, according to the season of the year and the nature of the soil—. Thus Westmoreland and Somersetshire, being moist and morass countries, served the Brigantes and Dumnonii

" nonii for the summer pastures, as Cumberland, Cornwall,—having a dryer soil, did for their winter."

That the nations of the Britons, in general, did drive their cattle from one county to another in summer and winter, is impossible to be fully true. Few of them possessed little more than a county or two. And many of them had only a single one.—Nor could the Brigantes have used Westmoreland and Cumberland for their summer and winter pastures. Westmoreland is far from being a moist and morassfy country, or Cumberland from being remarkably dry. The hills of the former must have been as good a winter pasture, as any lands in the latter. And the Brigantes could have nothing to do with either, till their reduction of them; which was only about the beginning of the Christian æra. Nor did they then find them desolate. Cumberland was even then inhabited by a nation, that had extended itself over half Westmoreland.—And all the change of pastures, that was made by the Britons, was the same undoubtedly as is made to this day, by the Highlanders; driving the cattle to the valleys in the summer, and re-driving them to the hills in winter.—Somersetshire therefore, as such, could not be the winter or summer pastures of any tribe of the Britons. And it did not belong to the Dumnonii. It was inhabited by the whole nation of the Hædui, and a part of the Cimbri. And only a very small portion of it, to the south-east, was possessed by the Dumnonii.—A great part of Cornwall was equally inhabited by the whole tribe of the Carnabii, and the rest by the Cimbri and Dumnonii.—And it is remarkable that

Mr. Carte, in speaking of the mode of living among the *old Britons*, instances in a couple of tribes, the Dumnonii and Brigantes; when one of them, the former, is according to truth, and even his own accounts both before (p. 23 and 24) and after (p. 103), a tribe of the *Belgæ*.

—The old Britons “had no cities or towns, except such transitory ones as are described by Strabo, who says that woods served them instead of cities, “for cutting down a number of trees, they inclose a circle, and put up huts in it for themselves and stalls for their cattle to serve them for a little time.” These cabins were only for a present shelter, whilst their cattle fed in a certain place.”

That the old Britons had cities, and such as the Belgæ had, has been convincingly shewn before. They had, neither of them, any but towns in the woods. And they both had them equally.—The transitory cities founded on Strabo’s authority are only the fancies of his mis-informed criticks. And his words are these. Περιφραγμένες δενδρεσι καλαβελημενοις ευρυχωραι κυκλοι, και αύτοι εποιειν καλυπτομενοις, και τα βοσκηματα πελαστα μεντοις; & αρθρω πολιν χρονον. And here is no account of the Britons shifting their habitations, and much less of their changing their cities. The whole is a description of a British town. And Strabo says, that it was composed of cabins for the garrison and hovels for the cattle, & αρθρω πολιν χρονον, built of no durable materials; being not constructed, like those of Italy, with

stone

stone or bricks, but with timber and plaster. I have shewn already from Cæsar, that they were of the same materials generally with the Gallick houses. And they were mean habitations, says Diodorus expressly, because they were composed principally of timber and reeds (p. 346).—Strabo's words also, which are here confined by Mr. Carte to the old Britons, are extended in the original to all of them, the Belgæ as well as the Aborigines. And, as they are descriptive of a British town, they shew the old Britons and the Belgæ to have equally had towns among them, and equally the same sort of towns; and so defeat the very design for which Mr. Carte has produced them.

P. 77. "Colonies, from a corruption of which word  
"that of clan is derived."

How is this possible! How could the appellation of clan, which is retained to this day in the un-romanized regions of Caledonia and Ireland only, be derived to them from the Romans! The word indeed is purely British. And it has no relation to colony, either in its origin or import. It signifies only a progeny or family.

P. 80, Mr. Carte closes his account of the Britons with these remarks. The old Britons were "without military skill or experience, the necessary consequence of a long course of peace, interrupted nowhere ex-

"cept

“ cept on the borders of the Belgic colonies ; in a  
“ country generally—open, without any inclosure, with-  
“ out a single town or fortification from one end of  
“ the kingdom to the other.”

That the old Britons had no military skill or experience, is said, because it is supposed that they had no wars, except with the Belgick colonies. And, as this is not true, the other must be false. Diodorus, indeed, says something like it, taking notice that the kings of Britain were generally at peace one with another (p. 347). But then he extends the observation equally to the old Britons and the Belgæ. And history and fact concur to disprove both his and Mr. Carte's assertion. Causas ac bella contrahunt, says Mela of the Britons in general, ac se frequenter invicem infestant, maximè imperitandi cupidine, studioque ea prolatandi quæ possident (lib. iii. c. 6). And I have, accordingly, shewn the old Britons of Yorkshire and Durham to have reduced the Sistuntii and Volantii, the Selgovæ, and Carnabii ; the Iceni to have subdued the Coritani ; and the Cassii the Dobuni, &c. — Nor was Britain generally open and without inclosures. It could not be, when the face of the country was so greatly intersected with woods, as Strabo assures us that it was (p. 305). — And, that there was not a single town or fortification among the old Britons, is a continuation of the error refuted above, and the unjustest representation that ever was given. Mr. Carte indeed appears to have nodded over this part of his history. For does not he himself gives us an account in p. 94, of Cassivelaunus's town being fortified by the old Britons “ very strongly  
“ both

" both by art and nature," and actually stormed by the Romans? Does he not in p. 101 speak of Camulodunum, the capital of Cunobeline, a monarch of the old Britons? And do we not meet with an infinite variety of towns, both in Britain and in Ireland, among the geographers and historians of Rome? —

P. 94. " Cassivelaun sent instructions to Cingetorix and Taximagulus, two Kentish potentates, Carvilius, chief of the Carvili in Wilts, and Segonax, a prince of the Segontiaci in Hampshire, to assemble all their forces and surprise the naval camp of the Romans."

The making Carvilius chief of the Carvili, a tribe existing only in imagination, and Segonax prince of the Segontiaci, a nation much too remote to be concerned in an attack upon Cæsar's naval camp, is borrowed from the very fanciful, and generally mistaken, Mr. Baxter. And Dr. Stukeley in his Stonehenge, to the affront of his better judgment, has adopted the same wild notion. Cæsar expressly declares them all to have been of Kent; Cantium,—quibus regionibus quatuor reges præerant (p. 92).

P.103. " In all those territories of the Daminonii [Cornwall, Devon, and the adjoining parts of Somersetshire] there is not the least vestige of any Roman station or encampment [and therefore it is argued, that no stations were ever settled there]."

There

There were Isca Damnoniorum, Moridunum, Cenia, Voluba, Durius, Tamara, &c. These Ptolemy and the Itineraries mention. And there were various others without question, of which they give no account. One or two of these last are actually described in Dr. Borlase's Cornwall.

N. B. In p. 91, 98, 100, 104, 114, 119, &c. &c., are great mistakes concerning the position of the British tribes. And I do not wonder at it. The Roman-British geography of the island has never yet been satisfactorily settled, unless it is perhaps in the present work.—But I wonder at one thing. That is the inconsistency in the accounts of the tribes. The Dumnonii I have remarked before to be represented as Belgæ in p. 23, and in p. 76 as old Britons. The Trinobantes, who are always very justly noted before as Belgæ, are all at once in p. 114—117 transformed into old Britons. The Regni in p. 16 are placed in the adjoining parts of Sussex and Hampshire, and made old Britons: but a part of them in p. 96 is fixed in Surry, and converted into Belgæ; and all of them make their appearance as Belgæ in p. 100, and again in p. 107. And the Cassii or Cartivellauni are Aborigines in p. 17, Belgæ in p. 90 and 94, and Aborigines again in p. 100.

P. 129. “The inhabitants of the Lowlands of Scot-  
“ land were, before the Romans came hither, either  
“ dependants or vassals of the Brigantes properly so  
“ called,

" called, or at least confederates with them and of  
" their race; having the same divinity for their parti-  
" cular patroness, as appears from the inscription on  
" an altar dug up in Scotland, and inscribed to the  
" Goddess Brigantia."

I have touched upon this subject in ch. iv. s. 2, and have there shewn, that the statue (not the altar), which was dug up in Scotland, was found in Anandale, and is answered by a correspondent stone discovered in Cheshire. And I have observed from both, that the Brigantes in Yorkshire and Durham appear, not to have conquered or confederated with all the nations of Valentia, but on their subjection of Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, to have crossed the Solway and the Mersey, and reduced the Carnabii of Cheshire and the Selgovæ of Anandale. This the inscriptions prove. And they prove nothing more. Because the Selgovæ of Anandale appear to have been conquered by the Brigantes, it will not follow that the Damnii, the Ottadini, the Novantes, and the Gadeni had been equally conquered. And we might as well argue, that all Flavia had been likewise reduced by the same enterprising tribe, because Cheshire had.

P. 130. " Whether they [the Novantes of Valentia]  
" were a colony of the Belgic Britains (and they should  
" be Britains, since Al-cluid, their capital, was called  
" Dūn-Briton), or of any other Celtic nation settled  
" there upon the old inhabitants removing into Ire-  
" land,—they certainly spoke a different language from

" that of the Irish, Caledonians, and other Britains ;  
" and the Lowland Scots are, in the Irish language to  
" this day, called Galldach na Halbuin, from Gall, a  
" stranger."

The hint here, concerning the Belgick origin of the Novantes in Valentia, must appear very ridiculous to any one that knows the interiour geography of Britain. There were no Belgick colonies within 300 miles from Valentia.—And the proof, that the Novantes were Britons, is almost as ridiculous as the hint before it. Alcluid or Dunbriton was never the capital of the Novantes. It was not even any town of theirs. And their dominions did not reach within eighty or a hundred miles from it.—But the assertion, that they spoke a very different language from the other Britons, and the evidence produced in favour of it, is more ridiculous than either. Though the Irish do call the Lowland Scots Galldach na Halbuin, and though they meant to call them Strangers by the name ; would this prove any particular and small part of the Lowlanders to be peculiarly strangers ? And, still more, would it argue them to speak a different language from the rest of the islanders ? It certainly would not do either. The Lowlanders might in general be strangers, and yet a particular part of them not be so. And they might even all be strangers, and yet not speak a different language. The Belgæ of Middlesex and Essex were equally denominated Novantes, and were actually strangers : and yet their language was the same with the British. But the Lowlanders might be called strangers by the Irish, because they are Saxons ; as the English in Ireland are said

said to be equally called so by the natives. And even the Highlanders call themselves to this day by the same name of Caeldoch or Galldach. Do they therefore acknowledge themselves to be strangers in their own country? Or do they speak a very different language from the South-British, Caledonian, and Irish? The real truth is this. The name Galldach na Halbuin signifies strangers no more than the inhabitants of the moon. And all our etymologists are mistaken about it. It means only the Gauls of Albion; as the Irish call themselves the Caelich Eirinach or Gauls of Ireland, and call the English in Ireland the Ghaill, and the French the Gallta and Galltach. And see also ch. xii. f. 4, and the History of the Britons asserted against Mr. Macpherson p. 120—121.

This observation concerning the original meaning of the word Gael, Gallt, and Galltach, is the more proper to be insisted upon; as not only Mr. Carte, but even Mr. Macpherson, a native Highlander, and Mr. O'Halloran, a native Irishman, have equally mistaken the meaning, and built schemes of fictitious history upon it. And the last gentleman, in his New Introduction to the History and Annals of Ireland, has even gone so far, as to draw a line of distinction betwixt two words that are one and the same, Gael and Gathel; and made them, because the Irish (he says) popularly make them at present, to stand Gathel for a Gaul or Irishman, and Gael for a stranger (p. 192). Gathel, however, I have shewn before to be pronounced like Gael in the language equally of the Highlands and of Ireland to this day, and to be equally with it the generical appellation of all

the Britons (ch. xii. f. 4, and History of the Britons asserted p. 77 — 78 and 120 — 121). And this Introduction to the Irish history, though it is animated with an uncommon spirit of patriotism, and has actually vindicated Ireland from many gross and established mis-representations, is not written in a strain of cool and judicious argumentation. I am sorry to say it, because I esteem the patriot and honour the vindicator in Mr. O'Halloran. But in reasoning he is often impertinent, in etymology generally ridiculous (see p. 199, &c.), and in early history astonishingly credulous, as visionary as a winter's tale, and as fantastical as the dream of a feverish brain. And I force myself to speak thus strongly against the Introduction, in order to check (if I can) that torrent of ridiculous and imaginary history, which the Irish are now busily discharging upon us; as I have recently endeavoured to dam up that for ever, which their brethren and antagonists of the Highlands have equally let loose upon the nation. True history can only subsist upon the destruction of both. And to beat down that wretched spirit of credulity, which has been in every age the fixed and hereditary feature of all the remains of the antient Britons among us, is absolutely necessary, in order to maintain the dignity of the national history, and to vindicate the honour of the national understanding.

## H U M E.

Vol. I. 8vo.

P. 1—2. Mr. Hume appears in his history to be frequently seduced from the truth by pursuing a splendour of sentiment, and led away by an affectation of singularity into wildness and extravagance. And he sometimes appears adapting his sentiments to his situation, and throwing out such observations as will best serve the present purpose. And both these principles seem to have concurred in the production of his remarkable preface. There he advances a position, convenient perhaps for himself, but certainly unjust in its nature, That the history of nations in their infancy is not worthy a recital; as if the commencement of civil life, the dawn of the arts, and the rise of literature, were not incidents as important and interesting, as the posterior account of them, their occasional eclipses or accidental illuminations. And on this false principle he proposes to run briefly over the events, which attended the Roman conquest of Britain.—He affixes also this additional reason for it, that they “belong more to Roman than “British story” (p. 2). For the same reason he must as briefly run over the Saxon, the Danish, and the Norman invasions, the irruptions of the Scots into our borders, and the descents of the French upon our coasts, as belonging rather to the history of Saxony, and Denmark, Neustria, Scotland, and France. And in writing the annals of

France, Scotland, or Ireland, he would take very little notice of the English transactions in those countries.— Such are the trifling arguments adduced, for giving us so short an account of the Roman history of Britain. And Mr. Hume adds, in prosecution of the former principle, what (as I have observed above) the latter would equally have led him to, That he shall also “hasten through the obscure and un-interesting “period of the Saxon annals” (p. 2). By this means, that whole portion of our history, which (as I have formerly remarked) is the most important in all our annals, is consigned over to neglect and carelessness, as unworthy a man of genius for its writer, and incapable of affording entertainment and instruction to the reader. And a strong brand is fixed upon that period of our annals, which is (as I may say) the great seed-plot of our national history, as it gives us the origin and institution of all our government, all our civility, and all our religion; and is therefore fraught with infinite variety of instruction and pleasure to the man, the Christian, and the critick.

The extravagance of sentiment in these positions, and, what as strongly marks them, the fastidious affection of delicacy, must have been very manifest to a gentleman of Mr. Hume’s strong and masculine judgment. And his severer reflections must have been disgusted with both. But it was not convenient for him, to travel properly through the period preceding the Conquest. And yet it was necessary in itself, in order to give a seeming and saleable compleatness to his history. In this dilemma, not furnished with the requisite

quisite knowledge, and yet obliged to engage in the work, he naturally resolved to skim lightly along the surface, and throw an air of propriety over his conduct by some general reasons at the beginning. These, however slight and flimsy in themselves, would engage attention from their novelty, and perhaps convert even a deficiency into a grace. And that this was actually the reason for the preface and the practice of Mr. Hume, is plain (I think) from the innumerable mistakes which he has made, even in his method of writing history, in the British, Roman, and Saxon periods of it. Some of these I shall now point out, and nearly transcribe the whole of his general account of the Britons.

P. 2. "All antient writers agree in representing the  
" first inhabitants of Britain as a tribe of the Gauls or  
" Celtæ, who peopled that island from the neighbour-  
" ing continent. Their language was the same, their  
" manners, their government, and superstition; varied  
" only by those small differences, which time or a com-  
" munication with the bordering nations must necessa-  
" rily introduce."

Mr. Carte p. 7. says thus. And Mr. Hume sets out the mere abridger of him. "That they [the Britons] were a Celtic nation, and came hither from Gaule, is no longer doubted by any body: the perfect conformity between them and the old Gaulois in their manners, customs, habits, buildings, temper, warlike genius, superstitions of religion, and above all

" in their language, joined to the situation of the two countries, not allowing on this head the least room for dispute." And Mr. Hume appears to have judiciously compacted what had been diffusively said by Mr. Carte, and to have given us his argument in a better form.—But he has varied a little from his original, and thereby fallen into mistakes. Mr. Carte says, that the Gallick derivation of the Britons is no longer doubted by any one; and Mr. Hume, that it is unanimously asserted by all the antient writers. These are very different propositions. And the former is generally true, but the latter entirely false. There are only two antient writers, I think, that speak of the Gallick descent of the Britons. One is Cæsar, who does not agree with Mr. Hume. And the other is Tacitus, who directly opposes him. Cæsar says not, whence the great body of the islanders was derived; and he speaks only of the southern Britons as Gallick Belgæ. *Britanniae pars interior ab iis incolitur quos natos in insulâ ipsâ memoriâ proditum dicunt; maritima pars ab iis qui—ex Belgis transierant* (p. 88). And Tacitus expressly affirms the origin of the Britons to be a thing unknown. *Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint indigenæ an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum* (Agric. Vit. c. xi). He then advances several conjectures, that the Caledonians were of German origin, and the Silures of Spanish; or rather upon the whole, that they were all of Gallick. But he advances these only as conjectures, as problematical reasonings from the aspect of the men, the vicinity of the several parts of the continent, or a conformity of religious principles.

And

And “ all the antient writers, that agree in representing the *first* inhabitants of Britain as a tribe of the Gauls,” appear to be only one, who only *conjectures* that they were so, but afferts their real origin to have been utterly unknown.—I mention not this, to destroy or render dubious the Gallick origin of the old Britons. I do it, merely to vindicate the truth. The argument is a good one in itself. And I have endeavoured to improve it into a demonstration, in ch. xii. s. 4 and History of the Britons asserted p. 28—29.

—“ Their language was the same, their manners, their government, their superstition ; varied only by those small differences, which time and a communication with the bordering nations must necessarily introduce.”

This account is evidently taken from Tacitus, though neither Tacitus nor any other historian is quoted for it. His words are these. Eorum [Gallorum] sacra deprehendas, superstitionum persuasione. Sermo haud multum diversus ; in depositis periculis eadem audacia, et, ubi advenerint, in detrectandis eadem formido. And Mr. Hume appears to have added to Tacitus’s account, and thrown in a circumstance that is not true. Tacitus says not, that the governments of the Gauls and Britons were the same. And they were not. The Gauls had nothing but a kind of aristocratical republike among them, in the days of Cæsar and Strabo. And the Britons had none at all. The magistrates of the former, therefore, were always elective and

and generally annual; and those of the latter hereditary and for life. See Cæsar and Strabo for the Gallick republicks; Cæsar p. 2, 3, and 5 for the Helvetian, p. 9 and 34 for the Æduan, and p. 32 and Strabo p. 301 for all.

P. 3. "The Greek and Roman navigators or merchants brought back the most shocking accounts of the ferocity of the people, which they magnified, as usual, in order to excite the admiration of their countrymen. The south-east parts, however, of Britain had already, before the age of Cæsar, made the first and most requisite step towards a civil settlement; and the Britains, by tillage and agriculture, had there encreased to a great multitude (Cæsar lib. iv.)."

Where are these most shocking accounts of our ancestors to be found at present? I remember nothing but the *Britannos hospitibus feros* of Horace, which is not very shocking, and could not have been much magnified. And the quotation here from Cæsar is the first in the history, and is greatly misapplied.—That only the *south-eastern* parts of Britain were acquainted with tillage, is not said by Cæsar. His words are these. *Britanniae pars interior ab iis incolitur, quos natos in insulâ ipsâ memoriâ proditum dicunt; maritima pars ab iis qui—ex Belgis transierant: and, Ex his omnibus longè sunt humanissimi qui Cantium incolunt; quæ regio est maritima omnis, neque multùm a Gallicâ differunt consuetudine; interiores plerique frumenta non ferunt* (p. 89). Here we see, not merely the *south-eastern*,

eastern, but all the maritime Britons, all on the southern coast of the island, expressly declared to practise agriculture. And not only these, but some of the inland tribes, are equally declared to have practised it. So grossly erroneous is this account of Mr. Hume's! And another passage in Cæsar coincides with this, and two in Tacitus and Dio confirm both. *Maritima pars [Britanniæ] ab iis [incolitur] qui ex Belgis transferant, qui omnes bello illato ibi remanserunt, atque agros colere coeperunt.* And we find the Britons under Boadicia, the Trinobantes, a Belgick tribe, and the Caffii and Iceni, two Aboriginal ones, and running up to the north as far as Lincolnshire at least, all well acquainted with the arts of agriculture; and the more northerly of them, the Iceni, even before their reduction by the Romans. This appears with regard to the last from the notice given us by Tacitus concerning them, That previously to their insurrection under Boadicia, and while they were meditating it, they had been serendis frugibus incuriosi (Ann. lib. xiv. c. 38). And it appears equally with regard to all from Boadicia's address to them all, That they were obliged to cultivate their lands, *γεωργεῖν*, with heavy taxes upon them (1004).—Nor had the *south-eastern* Britons, merely, increased to a great multitude. Mr. Hume had before restricted to the *south-east* of Britain, what Cæsar had applied to all the southern coast, and even to some of the interior parts of the country. And he now advances farther, and confines equally to the *south-east* what Cæsar has spoken of all the island. So inaccurate and careless is he, in merely copying the notices of Cæsar! The latter having divided

divided the islanders more accurately than any other of his countrymen, into Belgæ and Aborigines, and assigned them their respective possessions in general; he proceeds to an account of both, and begins with this remark, That both Aborigines and Belgæ were exceedingly numerous, *Hominum est infinita multitudo.* And Diodorus accordingly calls Britain the well-peopled island, *πολυ-ανθρωπός ησάς* (p. 347).—But Mr. Hume, even in the compass of this very extract, has fallen into two other inaccuracies. Cæsar's *Hominum infinita multitudo* he translates into “a great multitude”; words much below the standard. And this populousness he ascribes to the practice of agriculture; when the facts appear not with the smallest connexion in his author, and could not possibly have any at all. The practice of agriculture was confined to the more southerly parts of the island. And the populousness extended over the whole of it.

—“The other inhabitants of the island still maintained themselves by pasturage: they were cloathed with skins of beasts: they dwelt in huts, which they reared in the forests and marshes, with which the country was covered: they shifted easily their habitations, when actuated either by the hopes of plunder or the fear of an enemy: the convenience of feeding their cattle was even a sufficient motive for removing their seats: and being ignorant of all the refinements of life, their wants and their possessions were equally scanty and limited.”

This

This general account of the Britons is all one accumulation of errors, formed partly by a repetition of the preceding mistakes, and partly by an addition of others.—The preceding have occasioned Mr. Hume to represent all but the south-eastern Britons, as maintaining themselves by pasturage, all but the south-eastern as cloathed with skins, and all but them as dwelling in huts reared among the forests and marshes, easily shifting their habitations, and having few wants and small possessions. And we must once more produce the often-cited passage of Cæsar, in opposition to this strange account. *Interiores plerique, says he, — lac̄te et carne vivunt, pellibusque sunt vestiti.* They were not all but the south-eastern Britons, they were not even any of the more westerly Belgæ, and they were not even some of the more inland Britons; they were only the generality of the Aborigines; who lived upon milk and flesh, and cloathed themselves in skins.—Nor did all but the south-eastern Britons dwell in huts constructed amid the forests and marshes. Strabo p. 306 informs us, that the Britons lived in cabins among the forests. But then he confines not the remark to all except the south-eastern Britons. He applies it to all the Britons of the south. He extends it to all the Britons of the inland country. And he carries it over all the island.—That all but the south-eastern Britons easily shifted their habitations and seats, is also equally false. Strabo, I think, is the only author that has been quoted by others (for Mr. Hume quotes nobody here), in proof of this opinion. And I have already shewn, that his words carry no such meaning with them. And, even if they did,

did, they are not restricted to the south-eastern Britons, but are equally spoken of all.—Such are the many mistakes in this small extract! And there are still more.

None of the Britons shifted their habitations and seats easily, as the hope of plunder or the fear of being plundered, or as the want of pasturage for their cattle, led them. Nor were all but the south-eastern ignorant of every refinement of life.—Mr. Hume has erred throughout this whole passage, from a strange indistinctness and confusion of ideas concerning the Britons. The other inhabitants were equally with the south-eastern divided into tribes and kingdoms. Their possessions were equally fixed and known among both. They roved not, any more than these, over the face of the country, sometimes settling in one place and sometimes in another. Each tribe had its distinct territory. And some of their dominions were not scanty and narrow. When they were alarmed by the plundering inroads of their neighbours, they drove off their cattle before the invaders. And they left their houses. Many of them were also employed in looking after the herds, the droves, and the flocks of their lords, along the woods or the heaths of the country; and gradually moved from the hills to the vallies, and from the vallies to the hills, for the sake of pasturage. But the tribe never shifted its position. And nothing but a total inattentiveness to what appears manifest upon the face of Mr. Hume's own history, the regular division of the island into principalities and kingdoms, could have seduced the author into this extravagant representation of the natives. The Britons did not live, as Mr. Hume describes them,

them, like so many hordes of Tartars or tribes of wild Indians. They were formed into regular kingdoms. They had ascertained possessions. And they were governed by stated laws.—This account will serve of itself to demonstrate the fallacy of the other assertion in Mr. Hume, That all but the south-eastern Britons were unacquainted with every refinement of life. Where a regular frame of polity had been erected, and where property was regularly ascertained, there many of the refinements must necessarily have been known. And, that they actually were among the Britons, I have already shewn in the preceding chapters. The labours of the pottery, the loom, and the furnace, were successfully practised among them. The arts of the turner, the carpenter, the miner, and the architect, were studied and known. And many of the ruling principles of mechanicks, many of the more mysterious truths of geometry, and various secrets in medicine, botany, astronomy, and religion, were familiar to the scholars of the island. And were such men ignorant of all the refinements of life? Common sense is shocked at the suggestion. And we need only appeal against it to a slight but remarkable fact, known to every reader, and of which we have demonstration remaining at present. I speak of the piles at Coway, which the Britons contrived to drive into the hard bed of the Thames, several feet under the surface of the water; and to fix so firmly in the ground, that they have continued amid all the waste of time, the violence of floods, and the plunder of interest or curiosity, the admiration of every age. And, even if Mr. Hume's representation of the Britons had been as

gene-

generally true as it is false, his extension of the censure to all but the south-eastern must have destroyed the whole of it. All the *southern* Britons were equally Belgæ, equally engaged in trade, and equally conversant with foreigners. Cæsar indeed speaks of the Cantii as the most humanized tribe of the island. But Diodorus says the same of the Britons in the most south-westerly parts of it. And, even according to Cæsar's account, agriculture particularly was practised by all the Belgæ, and also by several tribes of the Aborigines. The refinements of life, that I have shewn to have been cultivated in the island, were all cultivated equally by the Britons of the south. And most of them were known to all the Britons.

—“ The Britains were divided into many small nations or tribes ; and being a military people, whose sole property was their sword and their cattle, it was impossible, after they had acquired a relish of liberty, for their princes or chieftains to establish any despotic authority over them.”

We have been told immediately before, that all but the south-eastern Britons roved over the country, and shifted their habitations as the hope of plundering or the fear of being plundered led them. And yet here, in the very next words, we find all the Britons as I have before represented them, formed into regular kingdoms and subject to regular governments. Both however, as I have observed above, cannot be true. Regular kingdoms and governments, in an island especially

that was infinitely populous and full of buildings, necessarily involve in their ideas a permanent residence and defined possessions. And, if the point wanted any additional proof, we might remark that Mela describes Britain thus: *Fert populos regesque populorum, sed, —ut longius a continenti absint, ita, aliarum opum ignari magis, tantum pecore ac finibus dites; and, bella contrahunt, ac se frequenter invicem infestant,—studio prolatandi ea quae possident* (l. iii. c. 6). So inconsistent is Mr. Hume with himself, even within the compass of two succeeding sentences!

Nor was the sole property of the Britons their sword and their cattle. It was not, either as they were nations or individuals. The soil must necessarily have been property with both. And the numerous houses of the Britons must have been equally so with all. So vague and unmeaning is Mr. Hume's hypothesis, all the airy speculation of a mind that has taken a hasty view of the island, and never attended even to the consequence of his own notices and representations.—And Mr. Hume says further, That it was impossible, after the Britons had acquired a relish of liberty, for their chieftains to tyrannize over them. But how were the Britons to acquire this relish? By roving with their cattle over the country? Mr. Hume's argument plainly intimates this. And yet he cannot mean it. For this relish is attributed to all the Britons without exception: and the south-eastern are expressly excepted from the roving. And how could the rovers obtain the relish, when even they, as appears from this very quotation, were in regular communities and under regular govern-

ments? But let us suppose the Britons posseſt of this relish, and then see the result. It was then impossible, says Mr. Hume, for their princes to tyrannize over them. And why was it impossible? Is the Genius of liberty, like ſome of the knight-errants in antient story, cased by the Gods in a coat of impenetrable armour? And has that heroick spirit, which blusters and bullies in these our days, never crouched under the feet of our kings? For the safety of liberty, I wish the one could be imagined without credulity. And, for its credit with the world, I ſhould be glad that the other could be ſaid with truth.

—“ Their governments, though monarchical, were free (Diod. Sic. l. iv, Mela lib. iii, cap. 6, Strabo lib. iv), as well as thoſe of all the Celtic nations; and the common people ſeem to have enjoyed more liberty among them (Dion Cassius lib. 75), than among the nations of Gaul.”

This paſſage is full of mistakes. And I ſhall endeavour to point them all out.—Mr. Hume here ſays, that the British government was monarchical. And yet in p. 2. he tells us, that it was the ſame with the Gallick, which I have ſhewed before not to have been monarchical.—Mr. Hume also ſays, that the British monarchies were free governments; and quotes for it Diodorus, Mela, and Strabo. All that the laſt ſays, is this. *Δυναστεῖαι δὲ εἰσὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς*, there are many monarchies among the Britons; and immediately afterwards he speaks of their monarchs, *των Δυναστῶν τινες των αὐτοῦ*. (p. 306).

(p. 306). And here is evidently not a single syllable concerning the free nature of the British monarchies. But perhaps we may find the proper notices in Diodorus or Mela. What the former says is this; Βασιλεῖς τε καὶ Δικαιοὺς πολλοὺς εὗν, that the island had many kings and monarchs in it (p. 347). And here therefore is as little as in Strabo, concerning the freedom of the Britons under their kings. If it is found any where, it must appear in Mela. And his words are these: Fert populos regesque populorum, there are many communities in the country under their distinct princes. All these evidences, we see, prove nothing more than the monarchical nature of the governments. And the freedom enjoyed under them, for any thing that yet appears, is all an additional touch from Mr. Hume's pencil.—But perhaps Dion Cassius, quoted afterwards for the greater freedom of the Britons than the Gauls, may at least prove the positive point. And his words seem likely to do it. Among the Caledonians and Maeatae, says he, δημοκρατίαι ως πληθεῖ (p. 1280); the generality of their tribes are under republican governments. This is a very extraordinary assertion. And it deserves to be considered.

The words, we see, are restricted by Dio to the Maeatae and Caledonians, and applied by Mr. Hume to the Britons in general. But we have a testimony equal to Dio's, even his own, That the Britons in general were not under republican governments. They were, he expressly assures us in p. 957, under kingly. And therefore, as Mr. Hume has applied the words, there is a direct contradictoriness in Dio, which necessarily destroys

stroyes his credibility. This takes off at once the whole weight of his testimony here. And as the one intimation, concerning the general freedom of the British monarchies, either rests upon Dio or is totally ungrounded; and the other, concerning the greater liberty of the Britons than the Gauls, is entirely built upon him; they both fall with him to the ground.—It may be proper, however, to observe in addition to this remark, That Dio speaks not of the Britons enjoying a greater share of liberty under their kings, as Mr. Hume interprets him. And, even if his account had not been superseded by himself in another place, it would not prove the point for which it is adduced by Mr. Hume. It would not shew the freedom of the monarchical government in Britain. It would only prove the existence of a popular one. And consequently, even if its testimony was of any moment, it would be in direct opposition to Mr. Hume's representation.—But Dio's account is not only contradicted by himself, but by every other writer. As applied by Mr. Hume to the whole island, it is encountered equally by the very Diodorus, Mela, and Strabo, whom Mr. Hume quotes immediately before, and by Cæsar (p. 74, 92, &c.), Tacitus (*Agric.* Vit. c. 15), and others. Each of these is an authority fully equal to Dio's. And the concurrence of all forms an irresistible weight of evidence against him. And, even in their natural signification, and as applied only to the generality of the Picts, the words of Dio are directly confronted by a passage in Martial; which of itself is perhaps not an inferior testimony to Dio's, and,

by its coincidence with all the other accounts of the island, becomes greatly superior to it:

Turpes, humiles, supplicesque,  
Pictorum sola basiate regum.

Lib. x. E. 72.

I have gone over this extract from Mr. Hume the more circumstantially, in order fully to open the extravagance of it. I have shewn in the body of this work, that the monarchies of Britain were founded on a regular system of liberty. And so far I have asserted the interests of freedom and of man. But the spirit of the times, if not properly checked, would carry us into absurdities that disgrace the cause. We should see the Tartuffes of liberty, like those of religion formerly, throwing a discredit over it by their follies. And antient history would be gradually drest up in the cropt hair, the cloak, and the band of political puritanism. And there is the more reason for this apprehension, when we see so philosophical a spirit as Mr. Hume's carried away by the civil fanaticism of the times, and sacrificing truth at the shrine of freedom.

P. 3—4. " Each state was divided into factions with-  
" in itself (Tacit. Agric.) : it was agitated with emula-  
" tion towards the neighbouring states : and while the  
" arts of peace were yet unknown, wars were the chief  
" occupation, and formed the chief object of ambition  
" among the people."

All this implies a fixedness of possession and dominion among the Britons, which very ill agrees with the account before of their roving over the face of the island. But indeed all this description of our forefathers, short and scanty as it is, is little more than a mass of gross contradictions. And the lines are like the British kingdoms in the present extract, almost each of them in a state of hostility with its neighbour.—But that each kingdom was divided into factions within itself, is not true, as deduced from the work here quoted for it, Tacitus's Life of Agricola. That indeed proves just the reverse. *Olim*, says Tacitus, *regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis trahuntur* (c. 12).—And, that the arts of peace were not unknown to the Britons, is plain from Mr. Hume's own words, which allow tillage and agriculture to have been known to the south-eastern natives; and is still plainer from Cæsar's, which shew them to have been familiar to all the southern and some of the inland Britons. And in the present work I haye even shewn all the mechanical arts to have been practised in every part of the island.

So grossly inaccurate as Mr. Hume is in his general representation of the civil state of the Britons, we cannot expect him to be commonly precise with regard to their geographical divisions. If he has erred in a plain path and at noon-day, he must be sure to deviate upon a winding one and in the shade of the evening. And

to criticize upon these mistakes would perhaps be cruel; like arraigning a person for the breach of laws with which he was never acquainted. I shall therefore pass them all over. Only let me observe, that there is a capital absurdity both in Mr. Carte's and Mr. Hume's histories, which appears manifest upon the face of them. And that is the relating the military transactions of the island, without any previous information concerning the names, the position, and the power of the respective tribes in it. In this mode of writing history, the reader is introduced into a sort of fairy land, where beings arise with whom he has no previous acquaintance, and kingdoms are mentioned of which we have never yet heard the existence. Thus the Trinobantes are mentioned for the first time in p. 6 of the one, and the Iceni and Catuvellauni in p. 27 of the other, without one note of their situation and strength. And the reader is left entirely in the dark, whether they resided in Kent or Cornwall, in Middlesex or Cathness.

I HAVE here laid open a variety of errors within the compass only of two or three pages in Mr. Hume's history. And I may subjoin one remark to the whole, That his in-accuracy and in-attention have made him give us scarcely any real information, concerning the interior state of the island, even for the whole of the Roman period. His hastiness to discharge himself of this

part of his work, has increased and multiplied his mistakes. And yet it has in all probability preserved him from more; as upon a rough road a brisk pace is frequently safer for a fine horse, than a slow one.

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## A P P E N D I X.

### N° II.

I Have here subjoined what I have frequently referred to in the work, the Itinerary of Ricardus Corinensis. Such a curiosity ought no longer to be locked up in the few copies of Dr. Stukeley's comment, or the fewer of Mr. Bertram's original. To this I have added the parallel parts of Antonine's, that the one may reflect a light on the other. And I have annexed to the whole the modern places correspondent to each antient name, as they are assigned by Gale, Horseley, and Stukeley,

DIAPHRAGMATA<sup>1</sup>

## ITER I.

A RHUTIPI VIA DUCTA EST GUETHELINGA DICTA  
USQUE IN SEGONTIUM PER M. P. 324. PLUS MINUS  
SIC.

Iter 15 of Richard Durelevum	CANTIOPOLIS quæ et Du-	m. p. 10	Antoninus Iter 2 inverted Duroverno 12
	ROVERNO —		
Durobrovæ	DUROSEVO —	12	Durolevo 12
	DUROPROVIS —	25 <sup>2</sup>	Durobrovis 16
Dr. Stukeley's Copy Sulloniagis	DEINDE —	m. p. 27	Iter 3 inverted from Duro- brovis to Londinium 27
	TRANSIS THAMESIN IN- TRASQUE PROVINCIAM FLAVIAM ET CIVITA- TEM LONDINIUM AU- GUSTAM		
SULLONIACIS	SULO MAGO	m. p. 9	Iter 2 inv. Sulloniacis 12
	VEROLAMIO MUNICIPIO <sup>3</sup>	12	
VEROLAMIO	FORO DIANÆ	12	Durocobrivis 12
	MAGIO VINIO —	12	Magiovinto 12
LACTODORO	LACTORODO —	12	Lactodoro 17

<sup>1</sup> The Itinera are so called from their similitude to the animal midriff, which passes through the body from side to side (Stukeley).

<sup>2</sup> This number appears from the distances preceding and following to be faulty. Antonine's therefore is the right one.

<sup>3</sup> In this and one or two other places I have omitted the notices concerning martyrs, the mere interpolations of the monk.

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Canterbury	Canterbury	Canterbury
Lenham	Milton	Sittingburne
Rochester	Rochester	Rochester
London	London	London
Shenley near Brock- ley Hills	Brockley Hills	Edgeware near Brockley Hills
Verulam	Verulam	Verulam
Hertford	Dunstable	Market-street near Dunstable
Dunstable	Fenny Stratford	Dunstable
Stony Stratford	Towcester	Stony Stratford

Iter 18 inv. Isannavaria		ISANTA VARIA — 12	Antoninus. Bennavenna (Iter 6. Isanavatia) 12
Tripontio 12		TRIPONTIO — 12	Iter 6 Tripontio 12
Benonis 11		BENONIS — — 9	Vennonis 9
HIC BISECATUR VIA; ALTERUTERUMQUE EJUS BRACHIUM LIN- DUM USQUE <sup>1</sup> , AL- TRUM VERSUS VIRI- CONIUM, PROTEN- DITUR SIC.			
Iter 18 inv. Manduesuedo 12		MANDUESEDO m. p. 12	Iter 2 inv. Mandueffedo 12
Etoceto 16		ETOCETO — 13	Etoceto 16
		PENNOCRUCIO — 12	Pennocrucio 12
		UXACONIA — 12	Uxacona 12
		VIRIOCONIO — 11	Uriocoño 11
		BANCHORIO — 26	Bovium . . . . .
		DEVA COLONIA — 10	Deva Leg. 20 Vict. 10

<sup>1</sup> This road, the eastern branch of the Fosseway, the second Iter of Antonine pursues.

N<sup>o</sup>. II. OF MANCHESTER.

332

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Castle Dykes near Wedon	Near Daventry	Towcester
Dowbridge near Lilburne	Bugby	Dowbridge or Showel
High Cross or Claychester	Claychester	Claychester or High Cross
Manchester	Manchester	Manchester
Wall near Litchfield	Wall	Wall
Stretton near Penkridge	Near the river Penk	Penkridge
Oken-yate	Near Sheriff-Hales	Oken-yate
Wroxeter	Wroxeter	Wroxeter
Banchor	Near Stretton in Cheshire	Banchor
Chester	Chester	Chester

FINES

**FINES FLAVIÆ ET SE-CUNDÆ**

			Antoninus
VARIS	—	m. p. 30	Iter 11 inv. Varis 32
CONOVIO		20	Conovio 19
SEGUNTIO	—	* 24	Segontio 24

\* The sum total at the end is just ten more than the number prefixed, the latter being three hundred and twenty-four and the former three hundred and thirty-four. The nine or ten additional miles, in the faulty number annexed to Duroprovis, account for the difference.

GALB

HORSELEY

STUKELEY

Bodvary

Bodvary

Bodvary

Caer Rhun

Caer Rhun

Caer Rhun

Caer Segont near  
Caernarvon

Caer Segont

Caer Segont

ITEM?

ITER II.	Antoninus
A SEGUNTIO VIRIO- CONIUM USQUE m. P. 73, SIC.	
HERIRI MONTE m. p. 25	Iter 2.
MEDIOLANO — 25	Mediolano . . .
RUTUNIO — 12	Rutunio 12
VIRIOCONIO — 11	Virioconio 11

GALE

HORSELEY

STUKELEY

Meivod, North  
Wales

Rowton Castle

Wroxeter

Draiton, Shropshire

Near Wem

Wroxeter

Ranivaur Hill by  
Bala in Merio-  
nethshireMeivod, Montgome-  
ryshire

Rowton

Wroxeter

## ITER III.

Antoninus

A LONDINIO LINDUM  
COLONIAM USQUE,  
SIC.

DUROSITO	—	12	Iter 9 inv. Durolitum 15
CÆSARO MAGO	—	16	Cæsaromago 16
CANONIO	—	15	Canonia 18
CAMALODUNO COLONIA	9		Camaloduno 9

IBI ERAT TEMPLUM  
CLAUDII, ARX TRI-  
UMPHALIS, ET I-  
MAGO VICTORIÆ  
DEÆ<sup>1</sup>.

AD STURIUM AMNEM  
m. p. 6

Ad Anfam 6

ET FINIBUS TRINO-  
BANTUM CENIMAN-  
NOS ADVENIS.

COMBRETONIO m. p. 15

Combretonio 15

SITO MAGO — 22

Sitomago 22

VENTA CENOM. — 23

Venta Icenorum

31

<sup>1</sup> This Note seems to have been copied by Richard from some account, that was previous to the destruction of Camulodunum by Boudiccia.

Leighton-

## GALE

## HORSELEY

## STUKELEY

Leighton-stone	Leighton-stone	Rumford.
Writtle or Witham	Near Chelmsford	Chelmsford
Little Canfield	Fambridge	Kelvedon, Essex
Walden	Malden	Colchester
Barklow or near Ha- verill	Witham	Stretford-street, Suffolk
Brettenham	Stretford	Brettenham, Bradfield Combust, Suffolk
Thetford or Wul- pitt	Wulpitt	Thetford, Norfolk
Caster near Nor- wich	Caster	Caster

			Antoninus Iter 5
	Icianis <sup>?</sup>	m. p. 27	Icianos ....
Iter 17. Duroliponte	CAMBORICO COLONIA	20	Camborico 35
Durnomago m. p. 30	DURALI PONTE	— 20	Duroliponte 25
Corisennis	DURNO MAGO	— 20	Durobrovis 35
Lindo	ISINNIS	— 20	Causennis 30
	LINDO	— 20	Lindo 26

\* Several little differences occur in the copies which were published by Dr. Stukeley and Mr. Bertram, which I shall regularly note. And this is one. Icianos has only a vacancy in Bertram, but is inserted in Stukeley. And the latter is evidently right.

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Ickburrow	Chesterford	Ixworth, Icklingham
Near Cambridge	Icklingham	Chesterford, Cam- bridgeshire
Godmanchester	Cambridge	Godmanchester
Brig Casterton	Caster by Peterbo- rough	Caster
Nottingham	Ancaster	Stanfield by Bourn, Lincolnshire
Lincol	Lincoln	Lincoln

## ITER IV.

Antoninus.

A LINDQ AD VALLUM  
USQUE, SIC.

Iter 5

Segelocum (Iter 8  
Agelocum) 14  
Danu<sup>21</sup>

ARGOLICO — m. p. 14

DANO — m. p. 20

IBI INTRAS MAXI-  
MAM CÆSARIEN-  
SEM.

Iter 18  
Legolium  
Iter 5 inv. and  
Iter .. from  
York

C. tarractoni 40 {

LEGOTIO — m. p. 16

EBURACO MUNICIP. OLIM  
COLONIA SEXTA 21

ISURIO — 16

CATARRACTONI 24

AD TISAM — 10

VINOVIO — 19

EPIACO — 19

AD MURUM — 9

Legeolium (Iter  
8. Legecum) 16

Eburacum 21

Isubrigantum 17

Catarractoni 24

Iter 1 inv.

Vinovia 22

\* This Note has been interpolated by Richard,

Little.

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Littleburrow	Littleburrow	Littleburrow
Doncaster	Doncaster	Doncaster
Castleford	Castleford	Castleford
York	York	York
Aldborough	Aldborough	Aldborough
Cattarick	Cattarick	Cattarick
— — — — —	— — — — —	Pierce Bridge, Ovynford Binchester
Binchester	Binchester	Binchester
— — — — —	Hexham	Chester in the Street
— — — — —	— — — — —	Newcastle

TRANS MURUM IN-	Antoninus
TRAS VALENTIAM	

ALAUNA AMNE	m. p. 25
-------------	----------

TUEDA FLUMINE	30
---------------	----

AD VALLUM	m. p. 70
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<sup>a</sup> Dr. Stukeley gives us the numerals which Mr. Bertram has omitted.

GALE

HORSELEY

STUKELEY

—	—	
—	—	Alnwick, Northum- berland
—	—	Berwick on Tweed
—	—	Falkirk

ITER

Dr. Stukeley's  
Copy  
Corium

	I T E R . V.		Antoninus
	<b>A LIMITE PRÆTURI-</b>		
	<b>AM-USQUE, SIC.</b>		
CURIA	— m. p. . . .		
AD FINES	m. p. . . .		
BREMENIO	m. p. . . .		Iter L Bramenium . . . .
CORSTOPLIO	— 20	Corstopitum	20
VINDOMORA	— 9	Vindomora	9
VINDOVIO	— 19	Vinovia	19
CATARRACTONI	— 22	Catarractoni	22
EBORACO	— 40	Isurium & Ebo-	
DERVENTIONE	— 7	raccum	41 Derventio 7
DELGOVICIA	— 13	Delgovitia	13
PRÆTURIO	— 25	Prætorium	25

\* Dr. Stukeley by a strange mistake reads Ad Tines, and therefore fixes the station upon the North-Tyne. It was upon the limits of the Gadenian and Ottadinian territories, and somewhere, I suppose, on the banks of the Tweed in Tweedale.

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
— — —	— . —	Romanhow, Cor- stonlaw
— — —	— — —	Rochester on Tyne
Brampton	Riechester	Riechester
Corbridge	Corbridge	Corbridge
Dolande	Ebchester	Ebchester
Binchester	Binchester	Binchester
Cattarick	Cattarick	Cattarick
York	York	York
Aldby on the Der- went	On the Derwent	Stanford Bridge, Yorkshire
Wigton	Wigton	Wigton
Patrington	Hebberstow Fields or Broughton	Patrinton

ITER VI.			Antoninus
<b>AB EBURACO DEVAM USQUE, SIC.</b>			
CALCARIA	—	m. p. 9	Iter 2. Calcaria 9
CAMBODUNO	—	22	Camboduno 20
MANCUNIO	—	18	Manucio 18
FINIBUS MAXIMÆ ET FLA- VÆ		m. p. 18	— — —
CONDATE	—	18	Condate 18
DEVA	—	18	Deva Leg. 20. Vict. 20

GATE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Tadcaster	Tadcaster	Tadcaster
Almondbury	Near Gretland	Almondbury
Manchester	Man-castle near Manchester	Man-castle
— — — — —	— — — — —	Stretford on Mersey
Congleton	Near Northwich	Northwich
Chester	Chester	Chester

## ITER VII.

Antoninus

A PORTU SISTUNTI-  
ORUM EBORACUM  
USQUE, SIC.

RERIGONIO — III, p. 23

AD ALPES PENINOS

8

ALICANA —

10

Dr. S.

Isurio — 19

ISURIO —

18

EBORACO —

16

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
		The mouth of the Lune
		Burton on Lune, or Ribchester
		Pendleton, Pendlebury, Lancashire
	Ilkley	Skipton in Craven
Aldborough	Aldborough	Aldborough
York	York	York

## ITER VIII.

Antofinus

AB EBORACO EUGU-  
VALIUM USQUE, SIC.

				Iter 2 inv.		
Dr. Stukeley's Copy		CATARRACTONI	m. p. 40	Catarractoni	41	
Lataris	18	LATARIS	—	16	Lavatris	16
Vataris	13	VATARIS	—	16	Verteris	14
Brocavonacis	20	BROCAVONACIS	—	18	Brovonacis	13
Voreda	13	VORREDA <sup>1</sup>	—	18	Voreda	13
Luguvalia	13	LUGUVALIA	—	18	Luguballia	14

<sup>1</sup> Iter 10 inv. from Brocavonacis to Luguballia 22.

Catt

## GALE

## HORSELEY

## STUKELEY

Catarick

Catarick

Catarick

Bowes

Bowes

Bowes

Brough under Stan-  
more

Brough

Brough

Kendal

Kirby Thure

Browham

Penrith

Old Penrith

Castle Voran.

Old Carlisle

Carlisle

Carlisle

## ITER IX.

Antoninus

A LUGUBALLIO PTO-  
ROTONIM USQUE,  
SIC.

TRIMONTIO — m. p. . . . — — —

GADANICA — m. p. . . . — — —

CORIO — m. p. . . . — — —

AD VALLUM m. p. . . . — — —

INCIPIT VESPASIANA

ALAUNA — m. p. 12 — — —

LINDO — 9 — — —

VICTORIA — 9 — — —

AD HIERNAM — 9 — — —

ORREA — 14 — — —

AD TAVUM — 19 — — —

AD AESİCAM — 23 — — —

AD TINAM — 8 — — —

DEVANA — 23 — — —

AD ITUNAM — 24 — — —

Cannaby

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
- - -	- - -	Cannaby
- - -	- - -	Colecester, or Peebles
- - -	- - -	Corsford by Lanerk
- - -	- - -	Falkirk
- - -	- - -	Sterling on Alon river
- - -	- - -	Dunblane
- - -	- - -	Kinkel upon Erne
- - -	- - -	Perth, Airdoch
- - -	- - -	Perth, Dunkeld, St. Johnston
- - -	- - -	Brumchester on Tay frith
- - -	- - -	Btechin on S. Esk river
- - -	- - -	Eshlie on N. Esk
- - -	- - -	Aberdeen
- - -	- - -	Fylie

Antoninus.

**AD MONTEM GRAMPIUM**

m. p. . . .

— — —

**AD SELINAM**

m. p. . . .

— — —

**TUSSIS**

— 19

— — —

**PTORETONE**

m. p. 27

— — —

<sup>1</sup> The vacancy, which appears here in Bertram's edition, is filled up with these numerals by Dr. Stukeley.

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
—	—	—
—	—	On Dovern river
—	Nairne	Rothes on the Spay
—	Inverness	Inverness

## ITER X.

Antoninus

AB ULTIMA PROROTONE PER MEDIUM  
INSULÆ ISCA DAMNONORUM USQUE,  
SIC.

Dr. Stukeley's  
Copy

Varis	9	VARIS	—	m. p. 8	—	—	—
		AD TUESSIM	—	18	—	—	—
Dr. Stukeley's Copy		TAMEA	—	29	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	m. p. 21	—	—	—
Iter 9 Ad Vallum	20	IN MEDIO	—	9	—	—	—
		ORREA	—	9	—	—	—
		VICTORIA	—	18	—	—	—
	30	AD VALLUM	—	32	—	—	—
		LUGUBALLIA	—	80	—	—	—
		BROCÄVONACIS	—	22	—	—	—
Dr. Stukeley's Copy		AD ALAUNAM	m. p. . . .	—	—	—	—
Coccio	66	Coccio	—	m. p. . . .	Iter 10 Coccio		
		MANCUNIO	—	18	Mancunio	17	
		CONDATE	—	23	Condare	18	

Nairne

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
—	—	Nairne *
—	—	Ruthvan on Spey
—	About Dunkeld or Blair	Brumchester or Blair
—	—	Spittle in Glenshire
—	—	Strummie on Erie river
—	Orrock in Fife	Perth, Dunkeld, St. Johnston
—	Abernethy	Perth, Airdoch
—	—	Falkirk
Carlisle	Carlisle	Carlisle
Kendal	Kirby Thure	Browham
—	—	Lancaster
Ribchester	Ribchester	Burton by Lancaster
Manchester	Man-castle by Man- chester	Man-castle
Congleton	Near Northwich	Northwich

\* Farr on Nairne river.

				Antoninus
MEDIOLANO	—	18	Mediolano	18
ETOCETO	—	m. p. . . .	—	—
BREMENIUM <sup>1</sup>	—	....	—	—
SALINIS	—	m. p. . . .	—	—
BRANNOGENIUM <sup>1</sup>	....	—	—	—
GLEBON COLONIA	m. p. ....	Iter 3.	Clevo	....
CORINO	—	14	Durocornovio	14
AQUAS SOLIS	m. p. . . .	—	—	—
AD AQUAS	—	18	—	—
Dr. S. Ad Uxellam . . .	AD UXELLAM AMNEM	m. p. . . .	—	—
Isca	—	m. p. . . .	—	—

<sup>1</sup> The names of these two stations are taken from Dr. Stukeley. Only blanks appear in Bertram.

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Meivod	Near Draiton	Myvod
Wall near Litchfield	Wall	Wall
— — — — —	— — — — —	Birmingham
— — — — —	— — — — —	Droitwich in Wor- cestershire
— — — — —	Ludlow	Worcester
Gloucester	Gloucester	Gloucester
Cirencester	Cirencester	Cirencester
Bath	Bath	Bath
— — — — —	— — — — —	Wells
— — — — —	Exeter	Barton on the Foss, Somersetshire
Exeter	Chiselborough	Exeter

## ITER XI.

Antoninus

AB AQUIS, PER VIAM  
JULIAM, MENAPIAM  
USQUE, SIC.

Ad ABONAM — m. p. 6 Iter 14 inv.  
Trajectus '6

AD SABRINAM — 6 — — —

UNDE TRAJECTU IN-  
TRAS IN BRITTANI-  
AM SECUNDAM ET

Dr. Stukeley's Copy STATIONEM TRAJECTUM  
m. p. 3 Abone 9

Venta Sil. 9 VENTA SILURUM — 8 Venta Silurum 9

Isca 9 ISCA COLONIA — 9 Isca 9

Tibia 7 TIBIA AMNE — m. p. 8 — — —

Bovio — 20 Iter 12 inv.  
Nido 15 Nido 15

Nido — 15 Bomio 15

LEUCARO — 15 Leucaro 15

AD VIGESSIMUM — 20 — — —

AD MENAPIAM — 19 — — —

AB HAC URBE PER  
30 m. p.  
NAVIGAS IN HYBER-  
NIAM.

\* Dr. Gale supposes Abone and Trajectus to be transposed. Mr. Horsey supposes the supposition. But the order of Richard's Iter shews the former to be right.

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Gale again supposes a transposition; and the order of Richard's Iter again confirms his notion.

## GALE

## HORSELEY

## STUKELEY

Hanham

Aunsbury

Olland naar Rain-  
sham  
Aust on Severne

Oldbury

Henham

Tydenham or Chep-  
stow

Caer Gwent

Caer Gwent

Caer Gwent

Caerleon

Caerleon

Caerleon

Boverton

Near Axbridge

Boverton

Neath

Near Portbury

Neath

Logher

Near Glassonbury

Logher

Narbath Castle

St. David's

ITER XII.			Antoninus
<b>AB AQUIS LONDINIUM USQUE, SIC.</b>			
VERLUCIONE	m. p. 15.	Iter 14 Verlucione	15
CUNETIONE	—	20 Cunetione	20
SPINIS	—	15 Spinis	15
<b>CALLEBA ATTREBATUM</b>			
	15	Calleva	15
BIRRACTE	—	— —	—
LONDINIO	—	— —	—

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Westbury	Near Leckham	Lacock on Avon, Wilt <sup>s</sup>
Kennet	Marlborough	Marlborough
Spene	Spene	Spene
Henley	Silchester	Wallingford
— — — — —	— — — — —	Bray
London	London	London

ITER XIII.				Antoninus.
AB ISCA URICONIUM USQUE, SIC.				
Dr. Stukeley's Copy				
Bultro	9	BULTRO	— m. p. 8	Burrio Iter 12 9
		GOBANNIO	—	Gobannio 12
		MAGNA	—	Magnis 22
		BRANOPENIO	—	Bravipio 24
Uriconio	28	URICONIO	—	Uriconio 27

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Brubege	Usk	Caerphilly
Aber-gavenny	Aber-gavenny	Aber-gavenny
Old Radnor	Kenchester	Old Radnor
Rushbury	Ludlow	Worcester
Wroxeter	Wroxeter	Wroxeter

ITER XIV.

Antoninus

AB ISCA PER GLEBON LINDUM USQUE, SIC.			
Iter 13. Bultro	BALLIO	m. p. 8	Iter 13. Burrio
	BLESTIO	12	Blestio
	SARICONIO	11	Ariogenio
	GLEBON COLONIA	15	Clevo
	AD ANTONAM	15	—
	ALAUNA	15	—
	PRÆSIDIUM	—	—
	VENNONIS	12	Vennonis Iter 8 inv.
	RATIS CORION	12	Ratis
	VENROMENTO	12	Vernometo
	MARGIDUNO	12	Margiduno
	AD PONTEM	12	Ad Pontem Iter 6.
Bertram's Copy thus, Croco Colana Lindum	CROCO COLANA	7	Croco-colana
12	LINDUM	12	Lindo

<sup>1</sup> This name is taken from Dr. S.'s Copy.

<sup>2</sup> This number is equally from the Dr's. Copy.

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Brubeg	Usk	Gaerphylli Castle
Old Town	Monmouth	Old Town
Kenchester	Near Rosse	Kenchester
Gloucester	Gloucester	Gloucester
— — — — —	— — — — —	Evesham, Worcester-shire
— — — — —	— — — — —	Alcester, Warwickshire
— — — — —	— — — — —	Warwick
Claychester	Claychester	Claychester or High Cross
Leicester	Leicester	Leicester
Charnley	Near Willoughby	Cosington on Soar, Leicestershire
Willoughby	Near East Bridgeford	Willoughby, Nottinghamshire
East Bridgeford	Near Southwell	Bridgeford
Collingham	Brugh near Collingham	Collingham
Lincoln	Lincoln	Lincoln

ITER XV.		Antoninus
A	LONDINIO PER CLAUSENTUM IN LONDINIUM, SIC.	
CALEBA	— m. p. 44	Iter 7 inv. Caleba 44
VINDOMI	— 15	Iter 12. Vindomi 15
VENTA BELGARUM	21	Venta B. 21
AD LAPIDEM	— 6	— — — — —
CLAUSENTO	— 4	Iter 7 inv. Claufento 10
PORTU MAGNO	— 10	— — — — —
REGNO	— 10	Regno 20
AD DECIMUM	— 10	— — — — —
ANDERIDA PORTU		
AD LEMANUM	m. p. 10 m. p. 25	— — — — —
LEMANIANO PORTU	10	— — — — —
DUBRIS	— 10	— — — — —

<sup>1</sup> These numerals are taken from Stukeley. A large vacuity is left for them in Bertram.

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Henley	Silchester	Wallingford
Sylchester	Farnham	Silchester
Winchester	Winchester	Winchester
— — — —	— — — —	Stoneham, Hants
Southampton	Old Southampton	Southampton
— — — —	Pool	Portchester
Ringwood	Chichester	Chichester
— — — —	— — — —	Arundel, Suffex
— — — —	— — — —	Newhaven, Suffex
Lyme	Lyme	Old Romney
— — — —	— — — —	Lyme
Dover	Dover	Dover

			Antoninus
RHUTUPIS COLONIA	10	—	—
REGULBIO	—	10	—
CONTIOPOLI	m. p. 10	—	—
DURELEVO	—	18	—
MADO	—	12	—
VAGNACA	—	18	Iter 2 inv. Vagniacis ....
Novio MAGO	—	18	Noviomago 18
LONDINIO	—	15	Londinio 10

## N° II. OF MANCHESTER.

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GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Richborough	Richborough	Richborough
—	—	Reculver
Canterbury	Canterbury	Canterbury
Lenham	Milton	Sittingburne
—	—	Maidstone
Maidstone	Northfleet	Sevenoke
Woodcote near Croydon	Woodcote	Croydon
London	London	London

## ITER XVI.

Aponinus

A LONDINIO CENIAM  
USQUE, SICIter 15.  
Venta B. 80

VENTA BELGARUM m. p. 90

BRIGE — 11

SORBIODUNO — 8

VENTA GELADIA — 12

DURNOVARIA — 9

MORIDUNO — 33

Isca Damnon. — 15

— — — — —

DURIO AMNE m. p. . . .

TAMARA — m. p. . . .

VOLUBA — m. p. . . .

CENIA — m. p. . . .

Iter 6 inv.  
Venta B. 66Iter 12,  
Brige 11

Sorviioduno 9

Vindocladia 13

Durnovaria 8

Muriduno 36

Sca Dumnoniorum 15

— — — — —

— — — — —

— — — — —

— — — — —

— — — — —

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Winchester	Winchester	Winchester
Broughton	Broughton	Broughton
Old Sarum	Old Sarum	Old Sarum
Winburne	Near Cranburne	Winburne
Dorchester	Dorchester	Dorchester
Seaton	Near Eggerton	Seaton
Exeter	Near Chiselborough	Exeter
—	—	—
—	—	Ashburton, Devonshire
—	—	By Saltash
—	—	Grampound
—	—	Tregeney, Falmouth

## ITER XVII.

Antoninus

AB ANDERIDA [EBO-RACUM] USQUE,  
SIC.

SYLVA ANDERIDA

Iter 15. Novio Mago	—	m. p. . . .	Iter 2 inv. Noviomago . . .
Londinio	15	LONDINIO — m. p. 15	Londinio 10
		AD FINES — m. p. 30	— — —
Iter 3. Durali Ponte	—	DUROLISPONTE m. p. . . .	Iter 5. Duroliponte . . .
Durnomago m. p. 20		DURNOMAGO — m. p. 30	Durobrovis 35
Iunnis	20	CORISENNIS — m. p. 30	Causennis 30
Lindo	20	LINDO — 30	Lindo 26
		IN MEDIO — 15	— — —
		AD ABUM — 15	— — —
		UNDE TRANSIS IN MAXIMAM.	
Iter 5. from Preturium		AD PETUARIAM m. p. 6	— — —
Delgovitia	25	DEINDE	
Derventio	13		
Eburacum	7	EBORACO UT SUPRA	
	45	m. p. 46	

\* The numerals appear in Stukeley only.

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
— — —	— — —	The Wild of Suffex near Newhaven
Woodcote	Woodcote	Croydon
London	London	London
— — —	— — —	Roiston, Hertford- shire
Godmanchester	Cambridge	Godmanchester
Brig Casterton	Caster	Caster
Nottingham	Ancaster	Stanfield by Bourn, Lincolnshire
Lincoln	Lincoln	Lincoln
— — —	— — —	Kirkton in Lindsey
— — —	— — —	Wintringham on the Humber
— — —	Perhaps Brongh in Yorkshire	Brough
York	York	York

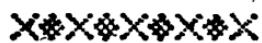
## ITER XVIII.

AB EBORACO PER ME-  
DIUM INSULÆ CLAU-  
SENTUM USQUE, SIC

	LEGEOLIO	—	m. p. 21	—	—	—
	AD FINES	—	18	—	—	—
	—	—	m. p. 16	—	—	—
	—	—	m. p. 16	—	—	—
Dr. S. more rightly perhaps	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	10	—	—	—	—	—
—	10	—	—	—	—	—
Derventione	16	DERVENTIONE	m. p. 16	—	—	—
	AD TRIVONAM	—	12	—	—	—
Iter 1 inv. From Etocetum	ETOCETO	—	12	—	—	—
Mandueffedo 13	MANDUESUEDO	—	16	Iter 2 from Etocetum	Mandueffedo	16
Beronis	12	BENONNIS	—	12	Venonis	12
Triponio	9	TRIPONTIO	—	12	Iter 6 inv.	—
Isanta Varia	12	ISANNAVARIA	—	12	Triponio	9
	BRINAVIS	—	12	Isannavatia	12	—
	ÆLIA CASTRA	—	16			—
	DOROCINA	—	15			—
	TAMESI	—	6			—
	VINDOMI	—	15			—
	CLAUSENTO	—	46			—

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Castleford	Castleford	Castleford
—	—	Gravesborough near Rotherham
—	—	Chesterfield, Derbyshire
—	—	Alfreton
—	—	Little Chester by Derby
—	—	Burton upon Trent
Wall near Litchfield	Wall	Wall
Manceter	Manceter	Manceter
Claychester	Claychester	Claychester
Dowbridge near Lilburne	Bugby	Dowbridge
Castle Dykes near Wedon	Near Daventry	Towcester
—	—	Banbury, Oxfordshire
—	—	Alcester, Oxfordshire
—	—	Dorchester, Oxfordshire
—	—	Stretley on Thames
Silchester	Farnham	Silchester
Southampton	Old Southampton	Southampton





**THE END OF BOOK THE FIRST.**



# I N D E X.

## AD ALAUNAM

See LANCASTER.

## AGRARIAN FORTS

Appendages to Roman stations in Britain, I. 223—234.—Never noticed before by any of our antiquarians, *ibid.*—Six of them pointed out about Manchester, *ibid.* and 234—244.

## AGRICOLA

Julius—Subdues Lancashire, I. 39—41 and 220.—Bridles the Britons there with garrisons, 43—44 and 220.—Not, as generally imagined, the constructor of all the Roman roads in Britain, 107.—Causes the towns of Lancashire &c. to be founded, 267—269.—Attacks the Caledonians, but cannot subdue them, II. 212.

## AGRICULTURE

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THE END OF VOLUME THE SECOND.

THIS DAY IS ALSO PUBLISHED  
BY THE SAME AUTHOR,  
A SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED,  
OF THE  
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OF THE  
BRITONS  
ASSERTED  
AGAINST MR. MACPHERSON.

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M E M.

To this edition are subjoined Mr. Macpherson's short reply, ingenuously giving up the whole, and two observations upon it; which are also printed separate, and given to the purchasers of the former impression.

